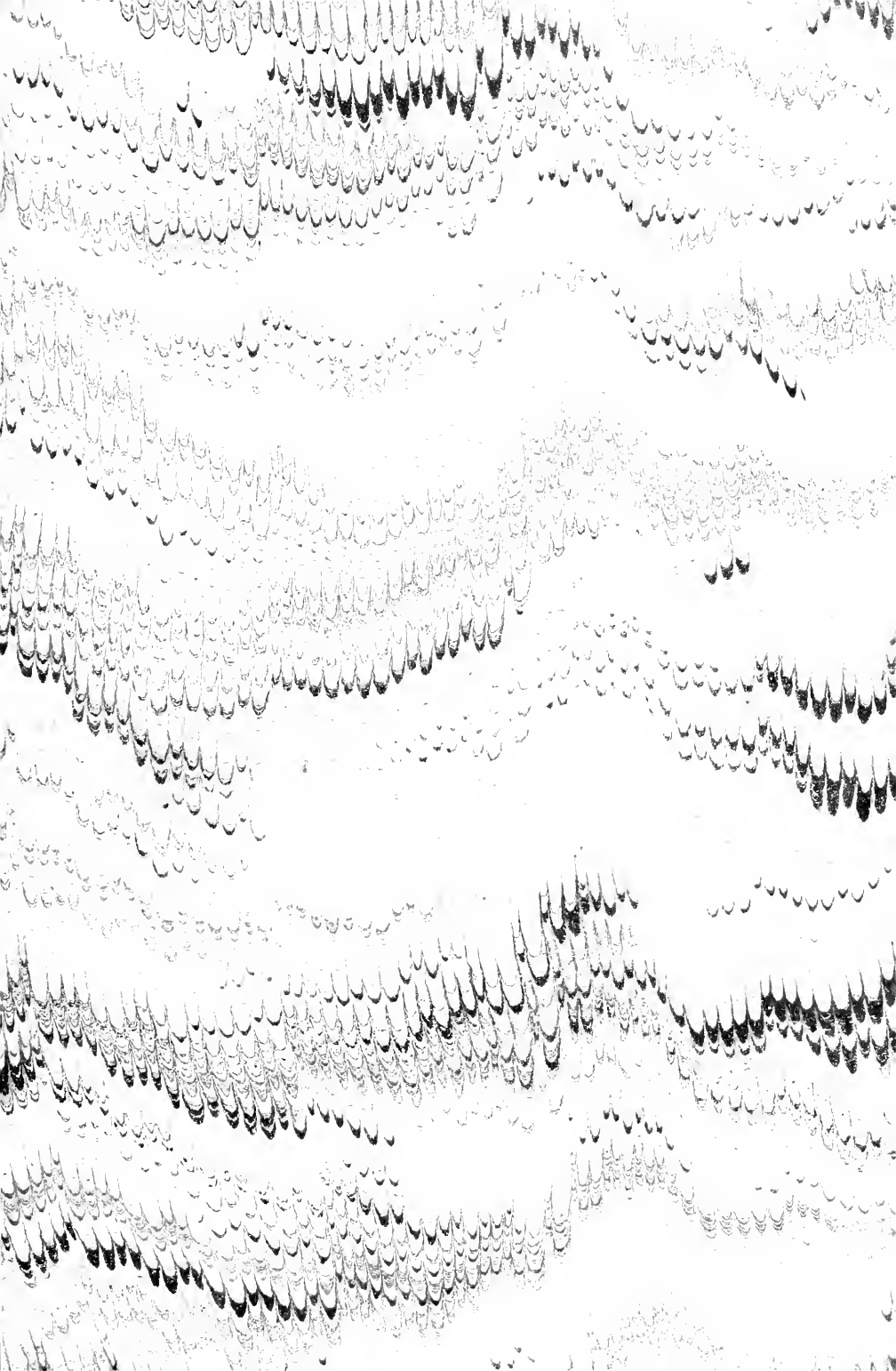


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Concord
Mass
1855

1837.

At a meeting of the Inhabitants of Dedham on
the 14th day of November, A. D. 1836—

VOTED,—That the thanks of the Town be presented to
SAMUEL F. HAVEN, Esquire, for his excellent Address delivered on the late Centennial Anniversary—and that he be requested to furnish a copy thereof for publication.

A copy of the Record.

RICHARD ELLIS, Town Clerk.

ADDRESS.

We have assembled, sons and citizens of Dedham, in honor of the time when the long dull rule of rude uncultivated nature was first interrupted on this spot by the organization of a civilized community. We commemorate the planting of institutions, the commencement of physical improvements, with whose growth and progress our family histories are intermingled, or in whose results our present fortunes and future hopes are interested. Heirs of a goodly heritage, we deem it a debt of common gratitude to remember the labors that acquired and preserved it for our enjoyment. On the last verge of one of those great periods by which human existence, collectively speaking, is measured, we would, ere overstepping its limits, reflect upon the past and thereby gather wisdom for the future. Upon the page of history, or in the village record, we find names, now the familiar appellations of our kindred or friends, associated with scenes and events that lie dim in the shadow which advancing time throws behind it, and the mind seeks the satisfaction of more distinct knowledge and clearer perceptions of them.

The impulse that brings us together today is one of the most common instincts of our nature. The savage race who once

held possession of the soil where we stand, but of whose blood 'now runs not a drop in human veins,' were accustomed to honor the memory, and renew in recollection the achievements of their fathers, as we would now do of ours. Yet how different the task! The red man required no record of customs and manners to aid his conceptions of the by-gone of his tribe. He had but to look within and around himself for a living history more exact than words could delineate. Hardly less uniform than the wild herbage that sprang up annually beneath his feet, the child grew into the place of the parent, and occupied it without improvement. No inventions added to his powers; no discoveries enlarged the limits of his knowledge; no gradual labor developed the resources of material creation; no happy effort of intellect raised the general mind into clearer light and more extended comprehension. Could he have recalled his sires from their graves, they would have been startled by no unaccustomed scenes. The same canoe, which he of today had tied to the same unchangeable shore, might be entered familiarly by the whole line of his progenitors, each thinking it his own. The same bow and arrow, the same scanty blanket of skins, the same ornaments of shells, each might assume as the ones laid down by himself ere he fell on his last sleep.

When arts of improvement came, they operated but to destroy; and these denizens of the wilderness were annihilated before they could be changed. They could pour forth from their minds the glowing figures and vivid illustrations of natural eloquence; they could argue and reason with an address and shrewdness that would not discredit a practised logician; they could form sagacious plans of policy; their chiefs were often adroit diplomats, governing their subjects wisely in peace and leading them skilfully in war; they could even enter into the subtleties of theology, and dispute upon the principles of ethics; but to en-

gage successfully in any of the branches of mechanical industry, farther than the twisting of willow into rude baskets, and the stringing of a few fanciful shells, seems to have been beyond their capacity.

There was much meaning in the notion of the ignorant man, (as Winthrop calls him,) who, on being enquired of by an inquisitive Indian, as to what were the first principles of a Commonwealth, replied, '*Salt* is the first principle, by means of which we keep our flesh and fish, to have it ready when we need it; whereas you lose much for the want of it, and are sometimes ready to starve. A second principle is *Iron*, for thereby we fell trees, build houses, till our land, &c. A third is *Ships*, by which we carry forth such commodities as we have to spare, and bring in such as we need.' 'Alas!' (saith the Indian,) 'then I fear *we* shall never be a Commonwealth, for we can neither make salt, nor iron, nor ships.'*

They are gone, all of them, with the forest of which they seemed a part, and we, children of art, as various in our generations as are the arts which we have made, and by which in turn we are modified, upon the same soil, and beneath the same skies, can scarce follow or realize the rapid changes which the restless spirit of our race has effected and is effecting in outward circumstances, and through them in its own condition and character.

The invention of printing, by multiplying copies of the bible, till then a sealed book in the hands of the priests, led to the reformation. Out of the reformation, from a free, untrammelled perusal of the scriptures, sprang that half religious, half political party, in England, called the puritan party; whose members, not satisfied with the partial reform from the absurdities of popery, made by the church of England, sought to introduce what they

* Winthrop's History, vol. 2, 304.

deemed a purer system of worship, deriving its rules of discipline, not less than its standard of faith, directly from the bible.* Their efforts involved a civil as well as ecclesiastical revolution, which, under Cromwell, was finally, for a brief period, accomplished. Fortunately, before the strength of their party gave much hope of ultimate triumph at home, a portion of them, more self-denying or more zealous than the rest, led quite as much by a desire to carry out their principles in the establishment of a religious commonwealth, as impelled by actual or apprehended persecution, came to these shores, prepared to devote themselves and their substance to the accomplishment of a work, which they believed God had ordained. They expected here to rear a chosen seed, and bring back the human race to that free and sacred communion with its Maker, from which it had fallen. The policy of the pilgrims partook of the intolerance and superstition natural to men engaged in what they deemed a divine mission, and applying the prophecies of the bible to their own condition and expectations. The excitement attending this imagined position pervaded all classes, making religion or theology the absorbing subject of all minds. They were prepared for any and all miraculous manifestations either of good or evil agency. In favor of their enterprise the good spirits of heaven would exert their choicest influence; against it the demons of darkness would as strongly contend. Between the two they must win their way, secure of final success, but subject to many difficulties and disappointments. The effect of withdrawing from the ancient prejudices and long established associations which were interwoven with the ecclesiastical system of the old countries, was different from what had been expected. Instead of the quiet enjoyment of a uniform faith, their minds, released from outward constraint, and having the opportunity which a new country affords for re-

* Neal's History of the Puritans.

constructing both civil and religious institutions from their original principles, became prolific of new lights, new revelations, and new constructions of scripture.* The more strict and staunch of the puritans saw with pain one of the main objects of their labors liable to be defeated, and much severity and unpleasantness of temper was manifested towards those who differed from the more orthodox creed. Many consequently sought in new plantations that peace which was denied them in the places then settled. New locations about the country were thus established sooner than otherwise might have happened; and to this cause the origin of Dedham, at first called "Contentment," has sometimes been attributed. Other and sufficient motives, however, also influenced the inhabitants of Watertown and Roxbury, from which places the founders of Dedham more immediately came. The grass land, from the increase of cattle, had become deficient in the older towns, and there prevailed among men to whom the possession of landed property was new, and associated in their minds with wealth and power, a strong desire for larger farms and more extensive domains.†

The settlement of Dedham, it has been supposed, was begun in 1635.‡ The people of Watertown and Roxbury had leave from the General Court to move as early as May, and we have the record of a birth here, on the 21st of June following, precisely six years and four days from the morning when Winthrop and his associates first entered the unexplored harbor of Boston, 'to find a

* At a synod in 1637, there were condemned eighty opinions which had spread in the country—'some blasphemous, others erroneous and all un-se. Winthrop, vol 1, p. 238.

† 'Most men unlanded till this time
For large lands eager sue.
Had not restraint knocked off their heads
Their farms too big had grew.'

'Good news from New England.' London 1548

‡ Worthington's Hist.

place for sitting down.' This brief space of time had sufficed to render the settlements about the bay 'crowded by their nearness to each other,' and from that year we may date the beginning of inland plantations in Massachusetts.*

Those who first embarked above the falls of Charles River, on the voyage of discovery which resulted in the selection of this place, may well have felicitated themselves on the success of their enterprise. The natural meadows, on whose coarse grass the cattle of the first comers depended for sustenance, till through the dry leaves of the cleared forest a finer herbage should struggle upward to meet the sun, not only spread in wide luxuriance on either side of this tranquil stream, but ran up among the swells, and expanded around and between the patches of hard-land. This plain too, of gentle elevation, surrounded by the low grounds, save a narrow neck at the west, would seem favorable for a garrison, should a place of security from the savages be required.

The Indians of this neighborhood, however, had been nearly all carried off by the small pox, a year or two before,† and most of those remaining alive had probably joined themselves to the tribes whose habitations were at some distance to the south and west. The location must have been considered as possessing peculiar advantages, from the number of intelligent and wealthy men who immediately became inhabitants, and the care which was taken to prevent any but such as were well recommended from joining the new society.

The first recorded public meeting was on the 15th day of August 1636, at which were present eighteen persons. These adopted a constitution or covenant, by which each individual bound himself to give information concerning any persons who

* See Appendix, A.

† In 1633. Winthrop, vol. 1, p. 116.

applied for admission, and also to submit to such fines as might be imposed for violation of rules. There was also a meeting on the 29th of the same month. The next assembly, on the 6th of September, at six o'clock in the morning, was held for the purpose of subscribing a petition to the General Court, for the confirmation of their grant of all that was left from former grants on the south side of Charles river, and five miles square on the north side. Nineteen persons signed at the meeting, and three, after the meeting was dissolved. So that, says a note in the record, "all the names of those who are admitted to our society are subscribed thereto." These are, Edward Allen the leader of the enterprise, Abraham Shaw, Philemon Dalton afterwards settled at Ipswich, Ezekiel Holliman who founded the first Baptist church at Providence and baptized Roger Williams,* John Kingsbury, John Dwight the progenitor of the late president Dwight of Yale College,† John Cooledge, Richard Evered whose distinguished descendant§ now honors us with his presence, Ralph Shepherd, John Hayward, Lambert Genere, Nicholas Phillips, John Gay, Thomas Bartlett, Francis Austen,‡ John Rogers, Joseph Shaw, William Beardstowe, Robert Feke, a citizen of some note at Watertown, who never came here, Thomas Hastings, and John Huggen.|| A grant of the General Court was made in conformity with this petition, changing the name however from Contemnent to Dedham, out of respect to some

* Winthrop, vol. 1, 293. Hutch. 1, p. 39 note.

† Worthington's Hist. of Dedham.

§ Gov. Everett.

‡ A man of property who attempted to return to England, but was taken by the Algerines and carried into slavery. This fate, according to Winthrop, had been foretold to him previous to his departure.

|| John Ellis, Daniel Morse, and Joseph Morse, who were present at the first meeting, are not upon this list. Allotments of land had been made to them, but they did not take possession immediately, which occasioned some complaint.

persons who had lately arrived from Dedham, in England. This document bears date September 10th, 1636, corresponding in the new style to this day, which completes the second century since the incorporation of the town.

A portion of the individuals above mentioned remained on the ground the first winter. In the Spring following, there seems to have been some alarm from the Indians,* as watches and wards are ordered to be set, and an invitation is sent to Thomas Cakebread, a renowned soldier of Watertown, to come and be at the head of military affairs. This was probably a false alarm, as we hear no more of it, and the gallant Captain Cakebread did not long lend the terror of his name for the security of the place, but disposed of his allotment to Francis Chickering.§

In the course of the succeeding year, the village lots being entirely taken up, it became necessary to deny admission to numerous applicants, until it was ascertained what farther accommodation could be provided for new comers. By continuing the list of inhabitants in the order of their admission to that period, or a little beyond, we shall find it to include many of the names now most respected among us, and some of persons afterwards leading men in other places. First came Jonathan Fairbanks; then Thomas Carter, afterwards minister at Woburn; then John Eaton "is entertayned into the lot which Thomas Hastings had layd downe." Ralph Wheelock, ancestor of the founder and first president of Dartmouth College, and Henry Phillips, both candidates for office as teachers in the church, accompanied Captain Cakebread from Watertown. The first was one of the founders of Medfield, the other, disappointed of promotion, is supposed to have returned to England. There were admitted,

* This was about the time of the Pequod war.

§ In 1664, "Thos: Breadcake" (Cakebread) was "allowed to take two guns from Winter Island" for the defence of Sudbury. Col. Record.

by one vote, Ferdinando Adam, Michael Metcalf, Mr. John Allin, Anthony Fisher, who occupied "the Smith's lot till his father should arrive," Thomas Wight, Eleazer Lusher, Robert Hinsdale whose bones now lie in honorable company beneath the monument at Bloody Brook, John Luson, John Fisher, Thomas Fisher, Mr. Timothy Dalton, and John Morse. The two *misters*, John Allin and Timothy Dalton, were rival candidates for the station of pastor. It was therefore very sagaciously replied to the application of this party for admission—that it is consented unto, "upon manifestation of their disposition to sit down with us in a civil condition without farther expectations." Mr. Dalton was afterwards sent by the Governor and Council,* with Mr. Bradstreet and the noted Mr. Peters, to settle a controversy between two ministers at Pascataquack,† where the same wise precaution seems not to have been adopted. Larkham and Knowles, two pugnacious persons, each claimed to be pastor of the church at that place, and having excommunicated each other, at length marched out, accompanied by their friends, to do battle with worldly weapons, one of them brandishing a pistol, the other bearing a bible upon a staff for an ensign.‡ The commissioners very naturally determined both sides to be in fault. One result of the journey was that Mr. Dalton became minister at Hampton in that neighborhood. Next came John Batchelor and John Roper, the first of whom went to Hampton, where his brother was teacher;§ the other settled at Lancaster, and with his family was destroyed by the Indians; then Nathaniel Colburn; then Jeffrey Mingey, who was afterwards a leading man at Hampton. Henry Smith, Edward Colver, (wheelwright) John Frary, Rowland Clark, Thomas Kempe, (blacksmith) rul-

* Winthrop's Journal, vol. II, p. 23.

† Now Dover, N. H.

§ Belknap's Hist. New Hampshire.

‡ Stephen Batchelor of Hampton was suspended from the pastoral office by the Gen. Court for "contempt of authority." Col. Records.

ing elder John Hunting, and some others who did not tarry long, were obliged to wait for a new survey of lands. William Bullard and John Bullard next appear; then follow Giles Fuller and Edward Richards; and not long after the names of Farrington and Guild occur.

These men were Puritans; most of them undoubtedly of character and standing in their own country. The year 1635 had been remarkable for the number of respectable men which it introduced into the Colonies. It was the time when Sir Henry Vane came over, and when Pym, Hampden, Sir Arthur Hazlerigg, and Oliver Cromwell, intended to have done so.* No less than eleven ministers were among the number of emigrants. This will explain why so many of that class are found with the first settlers in Dedham. Each might hope to obtain pastoral promotion in the new town. They were of somewhat different sentiments, but the religious character of the settlement was not yet determined. Never was there such excitement on the most subtle points of theology as prevailed in the colony at that time. When Mr. John Allin formed a church here in 1638, these clergymen generally left and became pastors in other places.

The first village was formed around the spot where we now are.† Two highways, one leading from 'Little River' as far west as the common, the other from the landing place on Charles river to Wigwam Pond, crossed each other as Common street and Court street do at the present day, and occupied nearly the same places. It was probably intended to erect the meeting-house on some position farther west than where it now stands, as the Record states, that 'for the loving satisfaction of some neighbors on the east side of Little River, it is condescended that it be set on the end of John Kingsbury's lot,' the present location.

* Hutch. Hist. I. 41.

† See Appendix B.

Let us borrow from fancy her wand, and waving it over the objects around us, restore them to the condition in which they were a little less than two hundred years ago. Aid us, powers of imagination, to pronounce the magic words which shall bid this house shrink within the limits of thirty-six feet long, twenty feet wide, and twelve feet high, return to its rustic walls of logs, and renew its roof of thatch. Let us obliterate the well trod streets around it, change yon elms into straggling forest trees, annihilate all those fair edifices, and let a few low dwellings range upon the north and east sides of the bushy and unsubdued plain. We will then a little by our right, among the stumps, pile up from the forest timber a school house, eighteen feet one way, by fourteen the other, two stories high, with a small watch tower above for our security, and we shall find ourselves in the first village of Dedham. Does the scene seem strange to us? The grave men with curled mustaches and long tufts of beard* depending from their chins, that should occupy the seats on one side of this house, and the not less grave women in their scarlet hoods and cloaks on the other side, and that solemn array of boys and girls vainly striving to stiffen the elasticity of youthful faces into equal gravity, seem not less strange.† Wait till this congregation, whom we have thus called together, have sharpened their intellectual appetites on a four hours' lecture—then ye, who now bear the names that have come down to you from the progenitors of the town, step forth and greet your ancestors. They will gaze in wonder at your appearance not less than you at theirs. But passing that by; can you fall in with the current of their thoughts—sympathize in their associations? Or suppo-

* Beards went out of fashion not long after this period.

† The seats of men and women were always on different sides of the meeting house. The boys and girls were seated in the aisle, or else on the 'hind seats,' which were raised that the children might be conspicuous and easily watched.

sing them to be occupied with the absorbing subjects of their time, are you prepared to discuss, not the expediency of rail-roads or the success of manufactures, or the operations of political parties, but the exciting questions, "whether a believer is more than a creature?" "Whether a man may be justified before he believes?" "Whether a man might not attain to any sanctification in gifts and graces, and have spiritual and continual communion with Jesus Christ, and yet be damned?" These were the topics agitating and dividing the public mind at that period. Can you follow their lead through scripture, and couple every thought and circumstance with an appropriate text? Or if a lighter mood chance to prevail, can you join in scripture jests, pious conceits, religious puns, and draw your humor from the same source that furnishes your weapons of controversy; extract political science, business maxims, and heavenly wisdom, all from one book, the bible?* I fear it will be an awkward family meeting: Not merely because the conversation might have, (as Hutchinson says of the correspondence between the regicide Goffe and his wife,) "too much religion in it for the taste of the present day;" but because on all subjects the method of reasoning and the bias of mental action have undergone a change, not less marked than has taken place in the nature of the topics, or in the common customs and fashions of society.†

Tell Richard Evered§ that he who now fills the seat of the Winthrops and Dudleys, is of his own blood—one who not less than Winthrop himself hath "a gift at exhortation"—at whose

* 'I am very apt to believe, what Mr. Perkins hath in one of his prefatory pages to his golden chain, that the word and scriptures of God doe conteyne a short upoluposis, or platforme, not only of theology, but also of other sacred sciences (as he calleth them) attendants and handmaids thereunto, which he maketh Ethics, Economies, Politicks, Church government, Prophecy, Academy.' Letter from Mr. Cotton to Lord Say and Seal. 1635.

† See Appendix C.

§ So spelled in the records.

lips choice words wait on choice thoughts, and lead them to the ear in all the pleasing harmony of appropriate expression. The stern puritan will perhaps propound a passage from scripture and call upon his descendant to '*exercise*.' Yet I doubt whether some 'Salathiel Bangtext,'* hammering out with heavy rhetoric the hard doctrines of the period, would not better suit the rough fancies of these stiff minded men.

The first organization of society in Dedham was of the most primitive character. Each man was provided with a home-lot of twelve acres if married, and eight acres if unmarried—This to begin with. The grants afterwards seem to have been made according to the necessities of members, or as a reward for services performed. 'The number of persons in a family (says the record) is a rule to divide the lands by, and a very considerable rule. Quality, rank or desert and usefulness in church and commonwealth, are also one rule considerable in the division of lands; and thirdly, such men as are of useful trades, and are fit to commence the same, are to be encouraged thereto by receiving some lands near home if it may be; and husbandmen also who can improve more, are to have lands fit for their calling.' Portions were also set apart for the purposes of education and the support of religion. A large part of the lands, however, continued to be public property, and the interest of individuals therein was determined by the number of cows or sheep they were entitled to pasture in the public herd-walks.

Those labors, which are necessary in preparing a new plantation for comfortable occupancy, were immediately and earnestly entered upon. With a commendable forethought, or to use their own expression, 'careful of the comfort of succeeding times,' they were anxious to lay out in the beginning such roads and public ways as might, so far as they could judge, be after-

* Scott's 'Heart of Mid-Lothian.'

wards needed. Their municipal rules, embracing the relations of private property and mutual interest, were peculiarly systematic and sensible. Highway work, of all public employments, at the present day, the most grudgingly undertaken, and least profitably executed, was of course the most burdensome tax. To this the men were summoned at first by beat of drum, as they were called to meeting on the sabbath; afterwards by the ringing of the bell, morning and afternoon. Other public works seem in ordinary cases to have been done by committees, who were paid in wheat or indian corn, which at fixed rates constituted the currency, except where the purchase of certain things, considered as *cash articles*, were necessary. Sometimes the people *gave a day*, for the accomplishment of a particular object. So late as 1657, the town having declared, 'that the meeting-house should be lathed upon the inside, and so daubed, and whited over workmanlike,' the inhabitants turned out in a body, and the thing was done up at once; how *workmanlike* cannot now be determined.

They had a pastor in Mr. Allin capable of commanding both love and respect, and in Eleazer Lusher, that 'man of the right stamp,' as the historian calls him,* they found all the mild firmness and gentle decision of character, connected with the most accurate business habits, qualifying him to take the lead in public affairs. But it was necessary that many others, and a large proportion of the society, should have been of the *right stamp*, as in fact they were, to maintain that strict discipline and perfect system of affairs, which, with the utmost good feeling, was kept up during the lives of the first generation.

* One of the 'right stamp and pure mettle, a gracious, humble and heavenly minded man.' Johns. 'Wonder working Providence.' In a description of 'some of our chief helps. both for Church worke Military and Commonwealth worke.'

It is not too extravagant eulogy of the first settlers in Dedham to say, they were a remarkable collection of people. Tradition brings down a high character attached to most of the names found on its early records, and their public and private acts fully confirm it. Orderly and industrious in their habits, they allowed no one to remain in their community, who was not engaged in some regular occupation.* Any violation of rules was followed by a penalty; yet the most exact strictness was accompanied by equally unfailing loving kindness. Delinquents are in gentle phrase 'appointed' to pay a fine, proportioned to the offence, and generally take upon themselves this office without a murmur; or, as is frequently the case, offset it by some public service. Liberal are they towards each other. If an individual's crops have come short, or any other misfortune has befallen him, he is allowed to take shingles or clapboards from the public stock, that he may repair his fortunes by selling them at Boston. And because the town of Medfield, a child as it were of Dedham, did not feel able to pay the whole of a debt of £100, it was resolved to take £50, and allow two years to pay it in, 'in consideration of the many and great charges lying upon that town, and other like considerations.' Thrifty are they, husbanding both public and private resources, with great economy and industry. Their remoter lands, not immediately wanted, they let out to people in the neighboring towns, and for many years received a regular income from meadows hired by Mr. Stoughton of Dorchester, and other responsible individuals. And as to private dealings, a contemporary writer says, 'the coin and commodities of the most populous town allure the Dedham people to many a long walk.†' Enterprising and saga-

* By the Colonial law the constable of every place was to take knowledge of all persons who spent their time idly or unprofitably; 'especially of common coasters, unprofitable fowlers, and tobacco takers.' Col. Record 1633.

† Johnson's Wonder Work'g Providence.

cious, they encourage by free grants the introduction of every branch of mechanical industry,* and, in three years from their first occupancy, they create a water power, carrying at this time four valuable and extensive manufacturing establishments, by digging a canal, which, robbing the tranquil Charles—flowing here unconscious of fall—of a portion of its waters, conveys it to a spot where nature, at the distance of a mile, had provided a descent, whence the stream wends its way and joins another river on its passage to the ocean.|| Public spirited were they; frequent in donations to Harvard College; and in their anxious efforts to procure a good school among themselves, they did not stint their appropriations to a single winter or summer, but voted £20 a year to be paid for eleven years together, the least sum for any one year, and to be increased as circumstances might render it practicable.† When a regular teacher could not be obtained, they called from their farms some of their own citizens, many of whom were competent to the station. Michael Metcalf did much service in this way; and Lieut. Fisher, who kept the Ordinary, in his annual bill for ‘dieting the Selectmen’ had often another charge for keeping the school. As these citizens were summoned from their regular vocations, it was agreed that ‘no advantage be taken to discount from their salaries for not attending the school, except it be discontinued a full week together.’ Above all, they pursued a liberal and enlightened policy in matters of religion. The Church, severe within itself, would spend a whole winter in enquiring into the qualifications of applicants for admission; rejecting upon the slightest doubt,

* Appendix D.

|| The first canal made in the country—unless the undertaking of one John Maisters in 1631 was accomplished, of which I am not sure. He petitioned the Gen. Court for aid in making a canal or passway for vessels from the river through the marshes at Cambridge. Col. Rec. See Appendix E.

† See Appendix F.

and trying gifts and graces by all the subtle tests made use of at that age; yet they molested no one who was not a member, for his private opinions. In such a sound and sensible community, we find, as might be expected, no persecutions, no witches, no supernatural occurrences. In 1660, the General Court sent out Judah Brown and Peter Pierson, convicted of Quakerism, to be whipped 'at the cart tail' in Dedham;* not improbably from a belief that the people here would inflict the stripes with a gentle hand; or the motive might be to compel the inhabitants to take a share in these acts, as they were deemed, of public justice.

Under the wise administration of the first settlers, the town prospered to a degree hardly equalled by any other plantation in the country. In 1645, the Dedham rate was one fourth greater than that of Concord, whose beginning was one year earlier. It is spoken of at that period as abounding in gardens and orchards;† and although the inhabitants had not then, as was the case some years after, attracted the attention of the General Court, and become amenable to the laws for excess of luxury in their apparel, yet a description of the good fare of New England, under date of 1642, was no doubt a faithful representation of the state of things here at that time. 'Now good white and wheaten bread is no dainty, but even an ordinary man hath his choice, if gay clothing, and a liquorish tooth after sugar and plums, lick not away his bread too fast. All which are but ordinary among those that were not able to bring their own persons over at their first coming. There are not many towns in the country but the poorest person hath a house and land of his own, and bread of his own growing, besides some cattle. Flesh is no rare food, pork and mutton being frequent in many houses. So that this

* Hutch. Hist. I, p. 203.

† Ogilby's Hist. This historian says Dedham began with about 120 persons.

poor wilderness hath not only equalled England in food, but goes beyond it in some places for the plenty of wine and sugar which is ordinarily spent. Apples, pears, and quince tarts, instead of their former pumpkin pies. Poultry they have plenty and great variety, and in their feasts have not forgotten the English fashion of stirring up their appetites with variety of cooking their food.†

The history of Dedham, and indeed that of New England, may be divided into three distinct portions of time, unequal in duration, but each marked by its own peculiar characteristics, which definitely separate it from the others. The first, that of the Pilgrims, who were mostly gone at the end of forty years, or about the time of Phillip's war, may be considered as purely *puritan*. During the second, the character of the people is mixed and changing; the puritan severity is gradually passing away; English habits, tastes, and prejudices, appear much modified in the new and less cultivated generation, whose sole experience of life is derived from the scenes and incidents around them. Their fathers might tell them of the corruptions under which the church was suffering in the old countries; of the grasping and dangerous power of papacy; of the numerous foes by which the true worship was beset; of the constant creeping in of worldly men into the offices of the church, bringing with them the pomp and ceremonies and luxury of worldly pride, and showing the necessity of cautious and strict discipline; but to those brought up in the wilderness, these representations would seem more like tales of other times, than as indicating dangers against which they must exercise unabated watchfulness. The divine right of kings; the important distinctions in society, of which they would see some slight specimens around them; the

† Johnson.

duty of loyalty to their liege sovereign; the dangers which would arise from admitting too much freedom among the mass of the people, might be expiated upon; but, far removed from the imposing splendors of a court, from a nobility to whom the magic influence of wealth and the venerable sanction of antiquity had given dignity, on the one hand, and from a crowded populace, whom poverty, ignorance, and vice, had combined to unhumanize, on the other; these lessons would make slight impression, compared with the voice of nature, inculcating the more agreeable doctrines of equality and independence. Hence the mixed or Anglo-American character, which marks the second period—more liberal in ecclesiastical polity, more independent in matters of political doctrine, and by degrees approaching that consistency and completeness in itself, which in 1775 resulted in throwing off the remains of anglicism in the feelings and habits of the people, and the establishment of institutions better adapted to the American character, which then at the beginning of the third period had become predominant. It is generally supposed that the Pilgrims brought with them those principles of freedom, in whose mature developement we claim superiority over all other nations—our boast—our peculiar pride. Yet I believe all that is peculiar in the nature of our institutions is wholly of American growth. The seeds which germinated here are implanted in human nature, and were permitted to expand and grow up to healthy maturity from the necessity of the case, arising out of the manner in which a body of men, equally intelligent, equally vigorous, equally able to satisfy the wants of nature, and all compelled to a degree of corporeal labor, were thrown together in a new land. Such a position, which in a measure carries society back to its elementary condition, is apt to result in that excess of liberty which leads to misrule and licence, and which, to use the expressive words of Winthrop, is

not true liberty, but ‘a distemper thereof.’* That anarchical freedom, which renders it impracticable to enforce the edicts of just authority, has always been a fruitful source of destruction to colonial establishments. In New England, it was tempered by the character of the people, accustomed to self denial and to subjecting their desires to their sense of duty. Its action therefore was strong but healthy. The leading men were inclined to an aristocratical civil government, which they said was according to the light of nature and scripture, and conformed to the aristocratical system of subordination which they believed the apostles had ordained for the church. They were willing to elect magistrates for life—to create an order of nobles. The spirit which corrected these prejudices needed not to be brought from the other side of the Atlantic. ‘The free air of nature’s wilds is full of it. We breathe it on the mountain’s side. It comes up with the morning’s mist from the meadow and the lake.†

Between the years 1670 and 1675, the era of the Pilgrims may be deemed to have terminated. A few venerable men, the Patriarchs of Dedham, were still here ; but the management of affairs had fallen mostly into the hands of the second generation, and a new era, less tranquil, less marked by forbearance and love, less creditable in itself, yet the embryo of many of those traits of American character, to which we are indebted for much that is desirable in our present condition, had begun. The pastor, Mr. Allin—the chief counsellor, Eleazer Lusher—and Joshua Fisher, who kept the ordinary and was much in public affairs, died near each other about this period.‡ It is not to be

* Winthrop’s Journal vol 2, 229. The expression is applied by Winthrop to unlawful exercise of authority, but is still more applicable to an unlawful use of liberty.

† Appendix G.

‡ Appendix H.

supposed that these men left none behind them worthy to fill their places, but their successors entered upon the charge of public concerns under less favorable circumstances. The common bond of perils past, of obstacles jointly encountered and overcome, with the sweet participation in the fruits of united labors, did not encircle and bind together the sons, as it had done the fathers; and it must be acknowledged that the flame of religious zeal burned more dimly in their bosoms.

They chose a new pastor, Mr. Adams, but they could not trust to the liberality of private deposits in the contribution box, for his support. Conscience began to prove an inefficient collector of the ministerial tax. It became necessary to settle the proportion of every individual.† Yet the form of a contribution each Lord's day was still kept up. 'And in case any shall be at some time shortened in money, he shall put in for that time a paper, wherein his name and his day's payment as shall be due is entered; which papers he shall once within one month take out of the Deacon's hands and pay the debt. And every man shall put his money in a paper each Lord's Day, and his name written therein, and so deliver it into the box.' They erected a new Meeting house, in size and convenience corresponding to the increased wealth and population of the place; but they could not agree upon the manner of sitting in it. The rules of precedence, by which the seats were distributed according to rank in society, had become difficult of application. They grew uneasy under the constraint of old formalities, as a man might under a garment he had outgrown; and the accurate measurement of dignity, the nice calculation of personal importance, suited not the new notions of equality which were dawning upon them.

† As early as 1630, there was a Colonial order that ministers should have houses built for them and regular salaries paid them, but it was either repealed or not enforced. Col. Record 1630.

Having finished the house of worship, they were careful to have all things within and without in a state of neatness and propriety. A new horse block is set up, a new publication post provided and painted. The old building is sold 'to procure a *Terit* to hang the bell in.' Loose stones are cleared away; and all persons 'forbid tying their horses to the meeting house ladder.' Those duties and responsibilities which we are accustomed to devolve upon that general factotum, the Parish Sexton, were divided among several. One functionary was appointed 'to *whip the dogs out of meeting*, and to go of errands for the reverend Elders, and also to take care of the cushion and glass.' It was then 'agreed with the widow Dunkly and the widow Ellis to procure the bell to be sufficiently ringed upon the Lord's day, and in season, and to keep the meeting house clean, and take care of the doors and windows that damage come not unto the glass.' A graver dignitary was required to keep his eye upon the boys during service; they being seated in the broad aisle, 'that they may be watched over according to law.'*

Alas! that the humble school house, near by, should at this time have been suffered to fall into decay, and that the ordinances of education, next in importance to those of religion, should have been neglected. It is a mortifying fact that the Selectmen, who in the month of January 1674, delegated Daniel Fisher to answer in behalf of the town which was presented for being deficient in a Schoolmaster, were almost at the same time, even the May following, obliged to notify the people, that they were likely to be prosecuted for not enforcing the law against excess in apparel.†

The great increase of population, the number of young men who had become old enough to participate in public affairs, to-

* Town Records.

† Appendix I.

gether with the multiplication of conflicting interests, rendered the government and regulation of the town, for many years after the death of the Pilgrims no easy or enviable duty.

The magistrates, instead of gracefully conforming their measures to the change of times, adopted that policy, which has, under similar circumstances in national affairs, caused the overthrow of more than one government. They revived old regulations, and enforced them with greater strictness, in proportion as they were unadapted to the altered condition of things; and amid the breaking up of ancient landmarks and the pouring in of new elements, changing the face of society and requiring a corresponding change in public policy, they only clung to antiquated forms and obsolete laws with greater tenacity. The law against the admission of strangers, under which Zerubbabel Phillips is the only one I find by the early records to have been proceeded against, is revived, and strictly enforced. Grown up children are not allowed to sojourn even with their parents, without leave obtained, on condition of good behavior, and a bond given to save the town harmless from all charges on their account. So of servants; and it was a matter of difficulty to get permission to retain them at any rate. Many are the applications on the record accompanied with the brief adjudication—‘not granted.’ Joseph Smith asks leave to have a journeyman to work with him. ‘Not allowed.’ Another thinks it hard that he cannot be permitted ‘to entertain’ a fair kinswoman. As soon as notice is given that any strangers have appeared in town, a committee is chosen to wait upon them, not to perform the rites of hospitality, but to bid them depart, as their tarrying in town is ‘disallowed.’

In the year 1675, Dedham was in the full enjoyment of the fruits of the wisdom and industry that distinguished the first settlers. The fertile spots within the limits of the grant had been

discovered and improved. One portion, which had been early occupied, received in 1650 a distinct incorporation, and under the name of Medfield was now a prosperous town. A settlement had also been formed on the southern boundary in 1661, at a place called Wollomonopeag; which, being found 'fit to carry on a plantation in Church and Commonwealth' became in 1673 the town of Wrentham. On the West was the village of 'praying Indians,' to whom a tract of two thousand acres had been conveyed out of the Dedham grant, where the experiment of civilizing and christianizing was tried with a zeal and liberality of means, never before or since equalled. The subjects of this benevolent enterprise were a milder portion of the Indian race, scattered parts of broken-up tribes, who, with less spirit and loftiness of character than existed among the nations yet entire and under the rule of their hereditary chiefs, were on that account more easily operated upon and moulded into the new character intended for them. Their language was rude and imperfect. The learned and superstitious Mather, finding it had no affinity to or derivation from any language on earth, that he was acquainted with, was surprised at some indications which seemed to him to render it probable that it differed no less from that of the regions under the earth. 'I know not, (says he,) what thoughts it will produce in my reader, when I inform him, that once finding that a possessed young woman understood the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages, my curiosity led me to make trial of this Indian language, and the Demons did seem as if they did not understand it.'*

Yet this tongue, which thus puzzled the powers of darkness, the indefatigable Eliot contrived to master, and translating the Bible into it, laid the foundation, as he supposed, of a civilized and christian community.

* Math. life of Eliot, vol. 1. p. 507.

Although the subjects of these humane efforts occupied a part of the original soil of Dedham, and were in other respects intimately connected with its early history, time will not permit me to enlarge upon their condition or ultimate fate. Mr. Allin, the pastor of this town, was among Eliot's first and most earnest assistants; frequent in his visits, preaching and praying among them, and receiving some of their most interesting religious confessions.*

These 'ruins of mankind,' as an old writer calls them, proved troublesome neighbors. They would not confine themselves to their own territories; and much controversy on that account grew up between them and the Dedham people.§ In their treatment of the Indians, our fathers are said to have manifested 'an awful respect to divine rules,'|| and certainly the doctrine of returning good for evil was often put in practice towards the tribe at Natic. Notwithstanding their frequent and vexatious encroachments, the town, in 1659, voted, 'That whereas it appears that the 2000 acres granted and laid out to the Indians at Natic, does not take in the sawmill, in good part already built by them, the town does farther grant to said Indians free liberty to finish the same, and the free use of the stream whereupon it stands.' And for their farther encouragement in this remarkable undertaking, which seems not to have been noticed, if known, by any writer, the town proceeds to grant them liberty to cut any timber they may want, within the limits of Dedham, with the

* Appendix K.

‡ Voted, that Sarg't Richard Ellis have 1*l*. 7*s*. 6*d*. for sarving two tachments at Natic, and attending as a witness at Bostowne to that cause betwixt Dedham and ye Indians. Town Records 1661.

|| Hubbard M. S. N. Eng. ch. 1.

simple proviso that it shall be cut from the common lands of the town, and only taken as they have occasion to use it.*

This sawmill was never completed, and so entirely was the attempt forgotten, that the accurate and minute historian of Natic seems not to have been aware of the fact. The Indians are said to have erected a meeting-house like the workmanship of an English housewright, but it was with the aid and direction of two carpenters from Boston. They *did* build a bridge over the river, which, much to their pride and gratification, withstood a freshet that carried away the bridges at Medfield.

In exchange for the two thousand acres conveyed to the use of the Indians, the town received a grant from the General Court of eight thousand acres, to be located any where within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, on lands not previously bestowed. With a degree of taste and judgment most creditable to those who made the selection, the beautiful and fertile position now called Deerfield, then bearing the Indian name Pacontuck, was chosen, and the title of the natives thereto fairly and equitably purchased. This Township was laid out in 1664, and, for nearly ten years, Dedham sustained and governed its colony with all the dignity and authority of a Lord Proprietary.†

That doubtful and bloody contest, known as 'Philip's war,' commenced in 1675. Indications of hostility had been increasing since 1671. The first actual outrage was committed in Dedham. A white man, shot through the body, was found in the woods. The circumstance agitated the whole colony. An Indian was arrested on suspicion, but whether executed or no

* The conduct of the Dedham people was quite the reverse of a disposition to encroach upon the rights of the Indians. They made it a point to buy up every claim of theirs whether well founded or not. See account of Indian deeds Appendix M.

† Appendix L.

does not appear.* Then John Sausaman, the Indian schoolmaster at Natic was murdered, he having acted as a spy upon Philip and betrayed his counsels. By this event the die was cast. Philip, to whose agency the murder was directly traced, finding himself detected threw off the mask, and began the war by an attack upon Swansea. Massachusetts was not unprepared. Dedham was not unprepared. The militia here had been equipped and put in a posture for war, with a supply of powder, bullets, and match,§ two years before, and the inhabitants were encouraged to enlist in 'the troop,' early in 1675, by an abatement of taxes; a kind of bounty that shows what substantial men entered into the service. This troop, forming a distinct force, under the command of Captain Prentice, was the first company engaged in the war. On the 26th of June, they received the alarm of the massacre at Swansea, where eight or nine men had been slain; and although it was late in the afternoon, immediately set out, intending to reach Woodcock's tavern in Wrentham that night.† They were delayed on the way by an eclipse of the moon; and 'some melancholy fancies would not be persuaded but that the eclipse, falling out at that instant of time, was ominous; conceiving also that in the centre of the moon they discovered an unusual black spot, not a little resembling the scalp of an Indian. Others, not long before, imagined they saw the form of an Indian bow, accounting that also ominous; although (says the narrator) the mischief following was done by guns, and not by bows.'|| Being joined by a body of volunteers under Captain Mosely, they reached Philip's lands the next day a little before night. Twelve of the troop, unwilling to lose time, passed at

* Hutch. Hist. Vol. 1, p. 283, note.

§ Appendix M.

† They set out from Boston.

|| Hubbard's Ind. wars.

once into his territories. They immediately received a fire from the Indians concealed in the bushes. This they returned with spirit. The savages soon fled, and the troopers retired for the night, with the loss of one killed and one wounded. Such was the first battle. Philip was soon pressed with so much energy in that quarter, as to be compelled to change the scene of his operations. The next assault was made by the Nipmuck Indians upon Mendon,* where they slew four or five persons,† being led by one Matoonas, supposed to be the father of him who committed the murder in Dedham. The track of war then passed on by Brookfield to Connecticut river, into the neighborhood of Deerfield, that thriving settlement, in which this town might well feel all the interest of a parent. Thither the Massachusetts forces hastened, and in that region were enacted some of the bloodiest scenes of the war. The Dedham people would naturally fly to the aid of their friends and kindred. Captain Mosely, commanding the principal detachment, was well known to them; and Captain Beers, who with most of his company soon fell near Deerfield, was a popular neighbor at Watertown. Many from Dedham must have been out in that campaign. John Wilson, John Genere, and Elisha Woodward, slain with Captain Beers, belonged, I have no doubt, to this town; and among the victims at Bloody Brook, was Robert Hinsdale, one of our earliest settlers.

In December 1675, the combined forces of the three colonies, led by Gen. Winslow, marched upon their disastrous, yet successful expedition, against the Narragansetts. Those belonging to Massachusetts on that occasion, consisting of six companies, were collected together at Dedham. Here their muster rolls

* Holmes' Annals, vol. 1, p. 423. It was on the 14th July.

† This according to Mather was the first blood ever shed within the limits of Massachusetts in the way of hostility. Mather's Ind. wars, 5.

were made, and here Major Appleton assumed the command.† What citizens of the place joined the enterprise, I do not know, having been able to meet with but one muster roll out of the six. The distinguished troop of Captain Prentice went with the other forces, probably as volunteers, they not being drawn as part of the regular proportion of this colony.

Defeated on Connecticut river, the savages again haunted our more immediate neighborhood. Lancaster fell, and with it several who had moved thither from this village. The turn of Medfield came next,|| although garrisoned with 160 soldiers, not 300, as sometimes represented. It was the very sense of security that proved fatal to the inhabitants of that place. The town, like most inland plantations, was overgrown with young wood, the houses being seated in the midst of bushes. With the aid of these, the savages were easily enabled secretly to convey themselves about the village after dark. Peering into the windows from their covert of shrubbery, they doubtless watched every movement of the unsuspecting inmates during that fatal night. The soldiers were billeted about in different parts of the town, and, after a dreary guard through the long hours of a February night, as the first beam of day began to appear in the east, and the morning light seemed hastening to relieve their weary watch, might naturally give way to the weight of slumber pressing upon their eyelids. Alas! this was the moment for which the vindictive foe had waited with untiring patience. Then pealed the deathshot through the windows, while the fierce tomahawk found its way, mid fire and confusion, to innocent and trembling bosoms.

The attack was simultaneous in all parts of the town. Eighteen persons, men, women and children, were massacred, and

† Hubbard's Indian wars.

|| 21st Feb. 7. Hub. Ind. wars 119.

more than forty houses burned, before the invader could be repelled.§

Soon after this event, John Monoco, or one-eyed John, made his famous boast at Groton. He said he had burned Lancaster and Medfield, was then burning Groton, and would next burn Chelmsford, Concord, Watertown, Cambridge, Roxbury, Boston—adding, ‘ what me will me do.’|| In this threat he has quite neglected Dedham. But the omission was probably a matter of policy, to put the people off their guard, as Indians were constantly detected lurking in the neighboring woods. If such was the intent, it failed most signally of its object. Except in the instance of Medfield, they never approached this region without reason to lament their rashness. They met with a notorious repulse on the confines of Medway. A party attempting to surprise Wrentham were discovered, and almost wholly destroyed.* Old Woodcock’s gun is said to have brought down one of them at the distance of eighty rods. Medfield redeemed her character by such a vigorous attack upon a body of them, that they never dared to show their faces in that quarter afterwards. Still worse fortune befel them nearer this village. In one instance, they were set upon and a negro taken captive, who informed of an intended assault upon Taunton, to which place notice being seasonably sent, the foe was repulsed and the town saved.† In another instance, venturing too near, they were attacked and seven of them killed and taken, among whom was the Sachem

§ Hubbard’s Ind. wars.

|| Hubbard. He was hanged in Boston 1676.

* Wrentham was afterwards burned by the Indians and the inhabitants did not return till 1680. Hubbard.

† Math. vol. 2, p. 497.

of the faithless tribe at Springfield,[†] and also a Sachem of the Narragansetts.

As it was the fortune of Dedham to be particularly connected with the events that immediately led to the breaking out of the war, so had it the honor of an exploit which contributed more than any single occurrence, perhaps, next to the death of Philip, to bring it to a close. Pomham, Sachem of Shaomet, (now Warwick R. I.) was probably the only chieftain, except Philip, possessing sufficient energy and talent to have united the scattered tribes and infused into them his own spirit and courage. He was a double traitor. He had quarrelled with Miantonomo, chief Sachem of the Narragansetts, to whom he was tributary, and voluntarily subjected himself to the Colonial Government for the sake of protection. When the war began, he joined Philip, and became next to him the most dreaded of the Indian warriors.|| He was slain by a party of the Dedham and Medfield people, on the 25th of July 1676. Fifty of his band were made prisoners, but he, refusing to be taken alive, was slain, raging like a wild beast.§ The death of Philip, eighteen days after, soon brought this destructive war to a close.

The sons of the pilgrims inherited from their fathers a decidedly martial spirit. Not that the love of military fame found a place in the bosoms of the puritans. They did not 'seek the bubble *reputation* at the cannon's mouth.' It was not *chivalry* in the usual sense of the word that excited them to bold exploits.

† The Springfield Indians had lived in so good correspondence with the English for 40 years, that more dependence was placed upon them than upon any other Indians. In consequence of their perfidy the Natics and others called 'praying Indians,' falling under suspicion, were sent under guard to Deer Island, where they remained during the winter, and suffered much hardship. Hutch. Hist.

|| Math. vol. 2, p. 497.

‘Even Philip was scarcely more feared than he.’ Thatcher's Ind. Biog.

§ Hubbard's Ind. wars. p. 131.

Their courage had little of romance in it. It may rather be termed a general disposition to encounter and overcome obstacles; such a spirit of combativeness as animated Martin Luther, and must ever be a leading characteristic of all earnest and successful reformers, guiding the pen in intellectual conflicts with the same energy that discards bodily fear in a contest with the sword. Archbishop Laud called the Pilgrims, 'men of refractory humours.' The firmness of some may have assumed the form of dogged resistance or obstinate endurance; but in more there was a stern and active resolution, that went out to meet danger, and breasted opposition manfully. Kindled by religious enthusiasm, it produced an elevation of feeling such as led the covenanters into battle, on the moors of Scotland, with a sneer upon their lips, in scorn of all that mere human strength, or the weapons of worldly warfare, could accomplish against them. The same compound of moral and physical nerve, which enabled our foremothers to sleep quietly in their lonely houses, with the not improbable chance of being roused by the yells of the unsparing savage, whom their husbands and sons had gone far away to encounter, led these husbands and sons to march against the foe, unsustained by the pomp and circumstance of modern military movements, in small parties of twenty or thirty, through the silent paths of the unexplored forest, seeking an enemy that in numbers treble or quadruple their own, might be hid in this thicket, or that swamp, where they could not tell, till a volley ringing from their dark recesses should lay in the dust perhaps half of their little company, whose remnant must charge upon an unseen foe intrenched behind their natural fortifications of trees and bushes. But, in addition to these traits of firmness, our ancestors were not wholly unconscious of 'the stern joy that warriors feel,' and many were there among them, besides *Standish* and *Church*, who stood in the way of peril as we might stand in

a summers breeze, enjoying the grateful excitement of its presence.

With less, it may be, of fortitude and power of endurance, the second and third generations had, perhaps, greater love of adventure, and were easily induced to engage in military expeditions, to which they could not be considered as called by patriotism or imperious sense of duty. The Dedham people partook largely of that spirit, and scarce an enterprise of importance was undertaken by the colony, in which this town was not numerously represented. In 1741, an expedition against the Spanish West-India settlements was ordered by the English Government. Massachusetts furnished 500 men on that occasion, of whom but fifty ever returned, a fatal disease having swept off a large portion of the army.* Six men, from the South Parish alone of this town, were among those who perished.

In 1745, Gov. Shirley projected an attack upon Louisburgh, a French fort on the island of Cape Breton, near Nova Scotia. This fortification had been twenty-five years in building, and was deemed so strong and impregnable as to be called the Dunkirk of America. It was surrounded by a rampart of stone more than thirty feet high, and a ditch eighty feet wide. It mounted one hundred and forty-eight cannon and six mortars.† The enterprise seemed so rash that most of the colonies refused to join in it. Sir William Pepperel, who commanded the forces, had resided in Dedham; and it was probably from a personal acquaintance thus formed that Mr. Balch, minister, of the South Parish, was induced to accompany him in the capacity of chaplain. Many of our citizens also served as soldiers. This undertaking, which astonished all Europe, was completely successful. It enabled Britain to purchase a peace with France. Yet such a bril-

* Holmes' Annals.

† Holmes' Annals.

iant exploit, 'planned by a lawyer, and executed by a merchant, at the head of a body of farmers and mechanics,' was too great to be simply admired; and is said to have excited envy and jealousy in England towards the Colonies. When this fort was taken anew, by the British, [thirteen years afterwards, it was deemed so great an achievement, that the colors and other trophies were carried to England and deposited with great pomp in St. Paul's Cathedral; and a form of thanksgiving was ordered to be used in all the churches.||

In the last French war, from 1755 to 1763, a sufficient number of Dedham people were out to have formed a very respectable company by themselves. In a list of fifty-two men employed in that service, almost all of our ancient families may find their names represented; many of them more than once.* It is said that at this period one third of all the effective men in Massachusetts were in some way engaged in the war.†

During the first historical division which I have assumed, we beheld a community of foreigners, in whose minds the idea of *home*, that word of early days, was associated with different and far remote scenes. The second, embracing a whole century, from 1675 to 1775, exhibits the nonage of a young nation, submitting with increasing impatience to the restraints of colonial guardianship. The third, upon which I shall not enter, is the history of an independent people. After the year 1700, the Dedham records are filled with evidences of those struggles which

|| Holmes' Annals.

* See Appendix. Communication from Hon. Wm. Ellis, containing the names of men engaged in military service at different periods, from Dedham.

† Dr. Nath'l Ames, in his Almanac of 1756 speaks thus of the army :

'Behold our camp ! from fear, from Vice refined,
Not of the Filth, but Flower of human kind !
Mothers their Sons, Wives lend their Husbands there !
Brethren, ye have our Hearts, our Purse, our Prayer.'

always attend the dismemberment of an overgrown town, during the process of separating and defining the new corporations that spring up within its limits. Besides Medfield and Wrentham, Dedham gave birth to Needham, Bellingham, Walpole, Franklin, Dover and Natic.* After many and long efforts to stretch the pastoral wing of a single church over the remaining limits of the town, and to distribute the advantages of education, by sending a circuit school to hold its sessions in different neighborhoods, distinct parishes were at length formed; a measure which contributed much to the harmony of the town.

It is proper to extend our reminiscences to those public events of a civil nature, in which the people of this place have taken a part, and are entitled to a share of whatever honour may be attached to them.

There is something in the meagre account that has come down to us of the first pastor of this town extremely puzzling. A noted man he undoubtedly was, and for a long period; yet his private history is almost wholly lost. He is represented as remarkable for his mild and gentle temperament, yet he was constantly placed in the front rank, on occasions requiring energy and spirit as well as discretion. At the first great trial of the firmness of this Colony in sustaining her liberties and asserting her rights, when in 1646 the Long Parliament was inclined to encourage appeals from the authorities here, and a factious party in New England attempted to subvert the charter and introduce a general governor from abroad;‡ at this juncture, the Gen. Court having called upon the Clergy for advice and assistance, the Elders of all the Churches met for consultation, and selected Mr.

• Worthington's Hist.

‡ There were attempts made in 1635, and also in 1638 to revoke the charter, but the people seem not to have been then very apprehensive of losing their rights.

Allin to present the result of their deliberations. 'We conceive,' (says he in the report,) 'that we have, by our patent, full and ample power of choosing all officers that shall command and rule over us,—of making all laws and rules of our obedience,—and a full and final determination of all cases in the administration of justice—that no appeals or other ways of interrupting our proceedings do lie against us; and if the Parliament should be less inclinable to us, we must wait upon Providence for the preservation of our just liberties.'* Had the measures which struck at the very life and foundation of the rising Commonwealth succeeded, (says a late historian,)[†] the whole tenor of American history would have been changed. Fortunately, through the firmness of the General Court and Clergy, and the prudence of Mr. Winslow, who was sent to England on a commission by the Colony, the danger was averted, and those who had appealed from our Government were compelled to humble themselves before it.||

These troubles had been occasioned mainly by religious differences, and it was deemed expedient to summon a Synod for their adjustment. Here Mr. Allin, who seems to have been a leading mind through the whole of this period, was called on to preach; and gave, according to Winthrop, out of Acts 15th, 'a very godly, learned and particular handling of near all the doctrines and applications to that subject, with a clear discovery and refutation of such errors, objections, and scruples, as had been raised about it by some young heads in the country.'[§] At this convention was framed the famous Cambridge Platform,

* Winthrop.

† Bancroft.

|| Mr. Allin advanced the money to pay the expenses of this embassy. See Appendix N.

§ Winthrop's Hist.

which, for a long period, was considered as the religious constitution of the New England Colonies.

When sundry complaints against the Colony again endangered its charter, after the accession of Charles II. to the throne of England, and it became necessary to send out the celebrated John Norton and Simon Bradstreet, 'to take off all scandal and objections, and to see that nothing was done that might be prejudicial to the charter,' the business talents of Eleazer Lusher were put in requisition in preparing their instructions and providing funds for meeting their expenses. In connection with them and some others, he had been engaged during a recess of the Legislature, in drawing up a declaration of the rights of the Colony, which was afterwards adopted by the Court; and now he was on a committee to whom the whole arrangement of this important embassy seems to have been entrusted. His handwriting, with which every person who has examined our early state papers must be familiar, may be found in many of the acts, reports and resolutions, of that and other periods.* The doings of Norton and Bradstreet did not please the people. They were charged with being 'too compliant,' with having 'laid the foundation of ruin to all our liberties,' and it was strongly intimated by some of the malcontents, that Mr. Allin, meek and gentle as he is represented to be, would have done better in that service.†

The next great crisis in the liberties of the Colony, occurred when Randolph, 'the evil genius of New England,' was engaged in those hostile measures which resulted in the subversion of the charter. The case grew desperate. Many were discouraged. Gov. Bradstreet, and some others, were for making a merit of necessity and submitting to the encroachments of the British

* Hutchinson — In 1666, 500 acres of land near Sudbury were by order of the Court laid out to 'the worshipful Eleazer Lusher, as a reward for his public services. Col. Rec.

† Hutchinson, vol. 1, p. 222, note. See Appendix O.

Government. Another party, with the Deputy Governor Danforth, were for adhering to the charter according to their construction of it, and '*leaving the event.*'* Here was the origin of the two parties, Patriots and Prerogative men, or, as they would now be called, Whigs and Tories, between whom, says Minot in his history of Massachusetts, controversy seldom intermitted, and was never ended until the separation of the two countries. Daniel Fisher, the representative from Dedham, then speaker of the house, was the leader of the Patriots among the Deputies. He was one of the four whose impeachment, says Randolph in a letter to the Earl of Clarendon, '*will make the whole faction tremble.*'§

Then follows the third remarkable period in the history of American resistance to arbitrary power. The charter was dissolved in 1686, and soon after Sir Edmund Andros was appointed Governor. His administration was grievous oppression.‡ In 1689, an indirect rumor having arrived, by the way of Virginia, of the landing of the Prince of Orange in England, and the consequent revolution in the government there, the people, without waiting for a confirmation, determined to take its truth for granted, and simultaneously set about accomplishing a revolution of their own. On the morning of the 18th of April the town of Boston was in arms. The Governor and Council were seized and confined, and the old magistrates reinstated. The country people came into town in such rage and heat as made all tremble to think what would follow. Nothing would satisfy them but that the Governor must be bound in chains or cords and put in a more secure place;|| and for their quiet he was guarded by

* Hutchinson's Hist.

‡ Hutchinson's Hist.—note.

‡ He declared the title to lands here to have become void by the dissolution of the Charter, and exacted heavy sums for the repurchase of them.

|| Hutchinson's Hist.

them to the Fort. Whose hand was on the collar of that prisoner, leading him through the excited crowd, at once securing him from escape and guarding him from outrage? It was the hand of Daniel Fisher of Dedham;* aye ‘a *second Daniel come to JUDGMENT*,’ a son of the former, and heir of his energetic ardor in the cause of freedom.§

As the last struggle against foreign imposition and despotic exaction approached, and the American people were stimulating and encouraging each other for the final effort; when the sunny shores of independence were in view, but a dark and bloody stream of contest and revolution lay between, into which they were preparing to plunge, no town in the country went beyond Dedham in the firm and decided measures proposed and sustained by its people. Yon monumental stone, once surmounted by a comely pillar and patriotic bust, consecrated to Liberty and Liberty’s friend, will with its renewed inscription this day declare to the passers by, what spirit animated them in 1766.† The town records overflow with patriotic resolutions; and so difficult was it for the citizens here to comprehend how an individual of common understanding could make use of *tea*, after the odious attempts to raise a revenue from it, that, in one of their resolves, they close a storm of indignation and contempt, directed partly against the article itself, and partly against those who had not self denial enough to abandon it—by pronouncing its use an act of ‘flagrant—*stupidity*.’‡

* Worthington’s Hist.

§ Had the rumor of the revolution in England, which was a very uncertain one, proved incorrect, the consequences would have been serious to those engaged in this revolt. Even as it was, the British government took the matter into consideration; but it was deemed rather absurd to punish the Americans for following an example which had been set by themselves.

† This Stone was the pedestal of a column erected in honour of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, as a testimony of gratitude for his efforts in behalf of the Colonies.

‡ Town Records, 1771.

The details of that interesting period cannot be comprehended within the scope of a discourse intended to be so general as this. There are annual occasions consecrated to the commemoration of that national declaration of independence and assertion of the rights of man, whose prototype had often been proclaimed in the unostentatious meetings of humble towns, and entered upon the pages of their simple records.

Samuel Dexter, known in history as the elder, but to us as the second of that name, then guided the councils of the Dedham people at home, and represented their views in the General Court. His name stands by the side of those of Otis, Bowdoin, the two Adamises, Hawley, Hancock, and Quincy, the most active and influential men, applying their combined talents in support of charter rights, and the liberties of the people.* In this association of patriotic spirits, his pen was among the busiest, and his vigorous mind among the most earnest in controverting arbitrary doctrines by the force of reason, and enlightening the people on the subject of their rights and capacities. In the same honorable company he received the proscription of the royal Governor, who more than once was called upon to say, that by his Majesty's command he negatived the election of Samuel Dexter to the Council.†

On the 6th of September 1774, a convention of Delegates from every town and district in the county of Suffolk, was assembled at the house of Richard Woodward, in Dedham, 'to deliberate and determine upon all such matters as the distressed circumstances of the Colony may require.'‡ To this grave Assembly, met upon its own soil, for the discussion of such weighty matters, the town sent five delegates. Those who now, or in

* Bradford's Hist. of Mass.

† Appendix P.

‡ This Convention was adjourned to Milton.

after times, shall examine the journal of the earliest Continental Congress in search of the first recorded resolution to try the issue with Great Britain, if need be at the point of the sword, will find the doings of this Convention entered at length upon its pages, appearing as the medium through which the object of their assembling was first presented to their deliberations, and serving as the basis of their subsequent proceedings. The house of Richard Woodward most of us remember. In it was born Fisher Ames. Was it also the birth place of the American revolution?

There are a few yet living, some perhaps may be present, who can recal the excitement of the scenes that followed, of gloom without and light within. We at this day can hardly realize the force of that zeal, which, raging in the bosoms of the brave, woke unwonted valor in the hearts of the timid, and kindled woman's milder fortitude into masculine daring.

We cannot foresee the events that lie hid in the undeveloped future. Occasions may arise when the American people will again be called upon to sacrifice comfort, possessions, life, upon the altar of freedom. I trust we shall not be found wanting in generous devotion whenever brought to the test. Yet hardly again can we expect to see the whole community animated by the same spirit, when from every hamlet in the land shall flow an equal stream of fervid enthusiasm, uniting in one great torrent of solemn earnest resolution. We are in the manhood of our political existence. The simplicity of childhood, perhaps the ardent generosity of youth, are past. A calmer balancing of considerations, colder calculations of interest, will hereafter mingle with the best and purest services in the cause of our country. It is not given to nations any more than to individuals to experience a second period of unsophisticated impulses. No overgrown, voluptuous, or even populous nation, could conduct to successful

completion a revolution in favor of liberty. This continent, now teeming with its rich harvest of progressive population, may hereafter be made desolate, and another career of renewed growth be begun in the freshness of youth; but that will be a new people, the subjects of a new history.

The 19th of April found the Dedham people prepared with five companies of militia or infantry, and an association of veterans, who had done service twenty years before against the French. These last, roused by the familiar sounds of war which had stirred their young blood at Ticonderoga, Fort Edward, and Fort William Henry, were ready now to peril what was left of life in a more sacred contest.

The news of the battle of Lexington reached the village a little after nine o'clock in the morning. It came in by the way of Needham and Dover, having in its course sent off all who could bear arms, as by an electric impulse, to the scene of action, hurrying them towards Lexington, as if the foe were driving instead of attracting them. The companies here, when enough could be mustered of their numbers to form a platoon, hastened to the combat, leaving others to follow, in squads of half a dozen, as they happened to collect together. Capt. Joseph Guild led the minute men, and meeting with one on the road who declared the alarm to be false, he seized him with his own hand, gagged him and left him under the charge of one of his men, lest the report should reach more willing ears and find readier credence. Lieut. George Gould, Capt. William Bullard, Lieut. William Ellis, and Capt. Ebenezer Battle, commanded the other companies. But the most interesting spectacle was presented by the corps of veterans, the relics of former conflicts, who assembled on the green in front of this house. Here they were met by the Rev. Mr. Gordon of Roxbury, who had left his home from apprehensions of personal danger. He, ascending the steps of the

ancient meeting house, invoked the blessing of Heaven on their enterprise. The grey headed warriors then began their march, leaving the town, almost literally, without a male inhabitant below the age of seventy and above that of sixteen. How could the event of that day have been other than it was, when the sanctifying influence of religious trust consecrated the courage of the patriot and the soldier. We have the authority of Washington for saying, that, had the retreat of the British troops been delayed one half hour, they must have been totally cut off.*

Of those who had an opportunity to participate in the action, one from Dedham, *Elias Haven*, was killed, and one, *Israel Everett*, wounded. He who stood by the side of Elias Haven when he fell, yet survives, at the venerable age of ninety.†

We have then arrived at the generation of the living. As memory begins to take the place of history, events multiply, and incidents crowd upon each other too fast to be properly noticed on this occasion, more appropriate to the recollections of remoter times. I have reached the limits within which I intended to confine myself. Yet gladly would I dwell upon later events not less worthy of commemoration. The struggle for liberty, whose beginning the people of this place so earnestly encouraged, they did not forget to sustain with their resources and personal services. Nor in more peaceful days that followed the achievement of national independence, have there been wanting men whose talents have reflected honor upon the home of their ancestors.

Can I speak of Fisher Ames and not rouse an echo from 'every log-cabin beyond the mountains'? With us he lived, with us he died, but it is not for us to appropriate the rich patrimony of his reputation. His eloquence and his fame are the inheritance of his country. The name of Samuel Dexter, first

* Washington's Letters.

† Mr. Aaron Whiting of Dover, since dead.

connected with him who one hundred years ago stood in this place and gathered up the reminiscencies of the previous century,† has in our own time been associated with commanding eloquence, and intellectual vigor, rarely excelled.*

Citizens of Dedham ! you will find in your history much to gratify a just pride, much to excite honorable emulation. By intelligent and godly ancestors was this town planted ; by a manly and virtuous race has it been nourished and sustained. Its sons have fought the battles of their country—they have led in its councils. At no time, in no manner, have they failed to contribute an honorable share of the talent, the patriotism, the domestic virtues, which created and have built up this great republic.

May such be the verdict that posterity shall pass upon us and our descendants, when the close of another century shall summon a new generation to a new commemoration.

‡ The Rev. Samuel Dexter preached a Discourse partly historical at the close of the first Century from the organization of the Church, which was printed. Appendix Q.

* Sam'l Dexter, late Sec'y at War.

APPENDIX.

NOTE A. See page 10.

There having been some difference of opinion in regard to the most proper time for commemorating the settlement of Dedham, I have put down all the events and circumstances which have come within my knowledge relating thereto, and tending to elucidate the subject. They are as follows.

About the middle of May 1635, the inhabitants of Watertown and Roxbury had leave to remove whither they pleased, within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. Colony Records,

Winthrop's Journ. vol. 1, p. 160.

Next, under date of Sept. 2, 1635, Col. Record, we find, 'It is ordered that there shall be a plantacon settled aboute two miles above the falls of Charles river, on the northeast side thereof, to have ground lying to it on both sides the river, both upland and meadow, to be laid out hereafter as the Court shall appoint.' Also, 'Ordered that there shall be a plantation at Musketaquid to be called Concord, &c.' It is to these orders that Winthrop refers in his journal, Sept. 1635, where he says, 'At this Court there was granted to Mr. Ruckley and ——— merchant, and about 12 families more, to begin a town at Musketaquid, &c. *A town was also begun above the falls of Charles River.*' Winth. vol. 1, p. 167.

The next notice of the future town of Dedham is in the Col. Record, March 5, 1635. 'Ens. Jennison, Mr. Danforth, and Mr. Wm. Spencer, are deputed to set out the bounds of the new plantacon above Charles River against all other towns that join upon it. And each town is permitted to send one of their members to accompany them—also they are to view the meadow

aboute the blue hills, to inform the next Gen. Court to what towns it may most conveniently be layd.' Here it should be remembered that the year by the old method of division began on the 25th of March.

On 'the 13th of the 2d month (May) 1636,' the above named persons make their report. 'Wee whose names are under written being appointed by the Gen. Court, to set out the bounds of the new towne upon Charles ryver, do agree that the bounds of the towne shall run from the markt tree by Charles ryver on the northwest side of Roxbury bounds one mile and a half north-east, and from thence three miles northwest, and so from thence five miles southwest—and on the southwest side of Charles Ryver from the southeast side of Roxbury bounds to run four miles on a southwest line, reserving the proprieties to several persons granted by special order of Court.'

WILLIAM SPENCER.

NICHOLAS DANFORTH.

WILLIAM JENNISON.

The proprieties here mentioned were probably grants which had been made by the Court to individuals who had filled public offices, as extra compensation. The custom was common. In 1634, John Haynes, Thos. Dudley, Samuel Dudley, and Daniel Dennison had lands granted them above the falls on the easterly side of Charles River. Col. Records. These lands were afterwards made a part of Dedham, being purchased by the inhabitants. The persons above named were all men of great distinction in the Colony.

We now come to the town records.

The first leaf of the earliest book is missing, but it is alluded to as containing a copy of the petition to the Gen. Court for a confirmation of their grant, and the Court order thereon. The outside of the second leaf is numbered page 3d. The word *Contentment* is written at the top near one corner, but has lines drawn through it and the word *Dedham* written above it. There is then the record of a meeting headed 'The 15th August 1636, being ye 6th month. Assembled whose names are hereunder written,' (then follows a list of 18 names) 'and with one accord agreed upon these conclusions following.' These relate to the kind of persons that shall be admitted to the Society—to the giving of information concerning applicants for admission—the imposition of fines for the non-observance of rules and the freedom of all waters in the town for fishing. It is then added, 'Got out and measured by Thomas Bartlett, Lotts for several men as followeth'—then are named seven men, to whom are granted twelve acres each. 'All these confirmed at this meeting, and are abuted as by the particulars in full appe'th.' Grants are then made

to several other persons; among the rest to *Edward Alleyn, of island and meadow, &c.* The record of this meeting occupies the 3d and 4th pages. On the 5th page, the word *Contentment* is written and erased, and *Dedham* written as before. The heading is '1636, the 28th of ye 6th month, called August.' Assembled, &c. 18 persons named; but not all the same individuals as before. Here follow some more 'conclusions.' Such as that single men shall have but eight acres for a house-lot, &c. and that 'the next meeting shall be upon ye 2d day of ye next month, at ye 6th hour in ye morning, at John Gay's house.' This record occupies our page. The next record, on the 6th page, is headed, 'The 6th of ye 7th month, called September, 1636. Assembled, &c.' 19 names. 'All these being assembled, subscribed their names unto a petition unto ye General Courte, for confirmation of our Grant—to be comprehended into our towne whatsoever is left from all former grants on that side of Charles River, and five miles square upon ye other side of ye said River, with certeyne privileges of exemption from country charges for four years.' 'Confirmed unto Edward Alleyn that little Island, &c. before granted at *ye first meeting.*' An order is passed about mending 'ye foule swampe;' and it is mentioned that after the meeting was dissolved, Robt. Feke subscribed his name, and Thos. Hastings and John Huggen did the like in Boston. 'So that all the names of those who are admitted to our Society are subscribed thereto. The copy of which petition is in ye beginning of this booke, as also the Court order upon the same.'

A copy of this petition and order was found on a leaf apparently torn from the Records, at the house of John Bullard, Esq. together with other valuable papers hereafter referred to.

On the 10th September, 1636, the General Court ordered, 'that the plantacion to be settled above the falls of Charles Ryver, shall have three yeares immunity from publike charges, as Concord had, to be accounted from the first of Maye next, and the name of the said plantacion shall be *Bedham*. To injoye all that Lands on the Easterly and Southerly side of Charles River, not formerly granted unto any Towne or particular person.—And also to have five miles square on ye other side of the River.'

Col. Record.

There is the record of another meeting in September, one on the 25th November, and one on the 31st December, at which various regulations are adopted, and grants of lands made. In the record of the last meeting we find this resolution: 'Whereas certeyne of our company are *gone up to inhabite this winter at our towne of Dedham*, and that other materials are not well to be had for the closing in of their houses in such a season, we do therefore give liberty only for every such inhabitant abovesaid

to make use of clapboards to any parte of his house for his present necessity, &c.' After two more meetings, one in January and the other in February, we come to the record of a meeting on the 23d of the first month, called March, 1636-7, which begins thus, '*The first Assembly in Dedham,*' &c. proceeding to name those who were present.

I should infer from the foregoing facts, that after leave was given, in May 1635, for the inhabitants of Watertown and Roxbury to remove, this place having been examined and found favorable for a town, notice was given to the General Court, which caused the order first quoted, September 2, 1635; that after the laying out of the town by the Committee, as appears by their report of 13th May, 1636, certain persons, who intended to locate themselves here, came together August 15th, 1636, for the purpose of a mutual understanding, and to begin the distribution of village lots: That on the 6th September, 1636, being ready to proceed with their settlement, they requested of the General Court a confirmation and enlargement of their grant, the appointment of a constable, and an immunity from public charges, as was usual at the beginning of new towns. The act of the legislature, in consequence of that petition, 10th September, 1636, may fairly enough be considered as creating the town, the company of settlers being then first legally organized.

It would also seem from expressions in the records, that the earlier meetings were not held upon the spot, but probably in Watertown; the first Assembly or town meeting in *Dedham* being on the 23d of March, the last day but one of the year 1636. The place being so near to Watertown and Roxbury as to admit of going backwards and forwards from one to the other in the same day, the people would be likely to build their houses; and make comfortable arrangements, before moving their families. When a majority of the company were established, the books, in which their transactions were recorded, would naturally follow them. Several of the persons, named as present at the first meetings, did not reside in Dedham for some time afterwards, and some never came at all. The gradual manner in which the settlement of the town proceeded will explain why no distinct account of its commencement is to be found in history. Had a body of men emigrated at once from some other place and located themselves here, as was the case at Concord and other remote towns, the fact would have been noticed in the annals of the time.

There are two circumstances which, unless explained, indicate the presence of inhabitants here at an earlier date than otherwise appears. The first is the fact that in the Register of births and deaths we find this record—'John, son of John Balden and

Joanna his wife, was born 21st of the 4th month (June) 1635. Mary, daughter of John and Hannah Dwite, born 25th of ye 5th month (July) 1635.' The other circumstance is the impression of Mr. Worthington that he has seen a book containing a record of the meeting of twelve men September 1st, 1635.

With regard to the births it may be remarked, that no record was kept of them till the end of the year 1642, when Michael Powell was 'deputed to Register the Births, Burials and Marriages, in our Towne according to the order of Court.' (Town Records 6th of 12th mo. 1642.) The date of the births of children then in town might be entered in the book, without regard to the place where they were born; especially if no record had been made of them elsewhere. Moreover, it is hardly probable that as the requisite permission to remove was not given till the middle or latter part of May, 1635, parents, expecting the immediate birth of children, would leave their homes without necessity, to be the pioneers of a new settlement.

The book which Mr. Worthington speaks of, cannot now be found, and I do not meet with any one else who remembers to have seen it. When I first obtained the town records for examination, a part of the first volume was separated from the rest, corresponding in thickness to the book which Mr. Worthington describes. Some leaves of this had been turned back out of place, bringing them into such a position as apparently to constitute the beginning of the book. The first of these was a blank leaf. The second, which bore the page mark (159) in very pale ink, purported to be 'a Register or particular description of all such Lands or Lotts graunted out unto several men by virtue of a Free grante of our said plantacon made unto us, by ye Hon. Courte Generall houlden at Newtowne the 2d of ye 7th month, 1635, and confirmed with enlargement at Boston ye 10th of ye 7th month, 1636.' Then followed a list of grants to sundry persons, eleven in all, most of which are partly erased. By turning to the Book of grants, we find the same entered there, and the record continued. From the position of this leaf, it had the appearance of being the first record, and from the obscurity of the writing, a mistake might arise as to the date. I was at first under misapprehension myself in regard to it, supposing it to correspond with the passage in Winthrop's journal before referred to, which, under date of September 1635, says 'a town is begun above the falls of Charles river.' I mention this as possibly accounting for Mr. Worthington's impression of another book.

The length of the foregoing remarks is justified by the fact, that owing to their shattered and decaying condition, the *disjecta membra* of our early Town Records may not at a future time be easily placed in their proper connection.

NOTE B. See page 14.

I am informed by the Hon. William Ellis, that according to tradition, the first houses were built upon the rising ground on the north side of Little River, or Dwight's Brook, in front of the present bridge. The village lots, however, were laid out upon the highways which I have described; forming two sides of a triangle, between which were situated the Meeting-house and Burial ground.

The lane to the present landing place at the river was laid out in 1705.

NOTE C. See page 16.

I trust I shall not be thought to allude to these matters too lightly, or in a manner not sufficiently respectful to the Pilgrim Fathers. My object is to present such a picture of the period, as will bring to view not merely their piety, energy and self sacrifice, universally known and admitted, but those less heroic traits, not so often commented upon, a knowledge of which is necessary to a clear conception of their character and the state of society among them. Their chief enjoyments were religious exercises; their principal discussions were upon theological subjects. The varieties of human temperament will display themselves, let the prevailing tone of society be what it may, and the sacredness of the topics did not prevent a considerable infusion of humor and satire from mingling with their most serious debates. The puritans, instead of being always solemn and austere, had, many of them, a strong humorous tendency. Besides the quaintness of their style, in itself a species of humor—a play upon words, and a laboring for odd conceits, which would seem very undignified at the present day, were common in the writings of the most learned and grave divines. The familiar manner of quoting the bible, and applying passages from scripture, customary two hundred years ago, would now seem very profane and irreverent.

During the years 1636, 1637, and 1638, the Antinomian controversy was at its height. Even some of the principal magistrates and clergy began to incline towards the tenets of Mrs. Hutchinson and Mr. Wheelwright; and the question whether man is to be saved by grace or by works, with its various corollaries, was agitated in every meeting public or social. Winthrop says, in 1636, 'the differences in said points of religion increased more and more, so that all men's mouths were full of them.' Vol. 1, p. 213. And Hutchinson remarks, 'The town

and country were distracted with these subtleties, and every man and woman, who had brains enough to form some imperfect conception of them, inferred and maintained some other point, such as these, a man is justified before he believes; faith is no cause of justification, &c.' Hutch. Hist. vol. 1, p. 57. We may therefore fairly enough presume that the Dedham people, after Lecture, would be thus engaged.

I insert some lines by Johnson, the historian, written in honor of Mr. Wilson, pastor of Boston, he having encountered opposition from the followers of Mr. Wheelwright, who in turn had to suffer for adherence to their leader.

'Thee they deprave, thy ministry despise;
By thy thick utterance seek to call men back
From hearing thee: but Christ for thee did rise,
And turned the *wheel-right* over them to crack.'

A specimen at once of the poetry and puns of that period.

Books intended to be serious and religious were published in London not far from the time referred to, with the following titles: 'A most delectable sweet and perfumed nosegay for God's saints to smell at.' 'A pair of bellows to blow off the dust cast upon John Fry;' 'The snufflers of divine love.' The author of a work on charity entitles his book, 'Hooks and eyes for believer's breeches.' Another called his labors 'High heeled shoes for dwarfs in holiness.' Another, 'Crumbs of comfort for the chickens of the Covenant.' A Quaker published 'A sigh of sorrow for the sinners of Zion, breathed out of a hole in the wall of an earthen vessel known among men by the name of Samuel Fish.' About the same time were published 'The spiritual mustard pot;' 'A shot at the Devil's head quarters through the tube of the cannon of the covenant.' 'Reaping hook well tempered for the stubborn ears of the coming crop; or, Biscuits baked in the oven of charity, carefully conserved for the Chickens of the Church, the Sparrows of the Spirit, and the Sweet Swallows of Salvation.' 'Seven Sobs of a Sorrowful Soul for Sin, or the Penitential Psalms of the Princely Prophet David, whereunto are also annexed William Huinnis' handful of Honeysuckles and divers Godly and pithy ditties, now newly augmented.'

NOTE D. See page 20.

A Blacksmith seems to have been the first mechanic in town. He was furnished with tools at the public expense. There are also mentioned, very early, a Joiner, a Wheelwright, a Brick-

maker, and a maker of wooden ware, who all receive from the town some facilities for carrying on their business. In 1656, the subject of setting up iron works was discussed, but probably the ore was not found in sufficient abundance. There was a strong expectation among the emigrants to this country of finding mines of precious and other metals, and a good deal of labor was employed in the search here, as well as elsewhere. As an inducement to those thus employed, it was voted, that a grant of any mine, which might be discovered, should be made to the finder, he paying ten per cent. of the profits to the use of the town. In the preamble to this vote, it is stated, that 'seeing amongst other things wherewith God blessed his people Israel, he exposeth divers metals for their encouragement, Deut. 8, 9, and seeing that already amongst ourselves a plenty of *iron* and some *lead* is discovered, it appears to us that he hath afforded us also a land furnished with such blessings; and also, considering the barrenness of a great part of our town, doth give us particular hopes thereof, &c.'

In 1647, John Dwight and Francis Chickering gave notice of their 'hopes of a mine' near certain ponds, thirteen miles from town, probably at Wrentham, claiming the right, &c. Similar notice was given of a mine on the north side of Charles river, 'over against Mr. Cooke's farm.' Another notice was given 1649, by the Pastor, Mr. Allin, and Eleazer Lusher, of a mine 'of metal or other mineral, near the Great Playne, &c.' Joshua Fisher and Daniel Fisher also, of one near the same place; and Anthony Fisher, of a mine 'near where the Neponset river divides.' In 1637, Abraham Shawe had a grant from the General Court of 'half the benefit of the *coals* or iron stone, which might be found on any common ground at the Country's disposing.'

NOTE E. See page 20.

The erection of mills, for grinding corn and sawing timber, was one of the first things that engaged the attention of the settlers in Dedham. In 1636, Abraham Shawe undertook to erect a mill on Charles river, probably on that part of the stream which is now in the town of Dover. He soon died, and the lands, granted to him in aid of the enterprise, were offered to any one who would accomplish the same object. No one, however, for several years, was induced to make the attempt. In 1639, it having been discovered that a water power might be obtained by means of a canal from Charles river, through 'Purchase Meadow,' to East Brook, the work was immediately begun, and inducements offered to citizens or others that might be disposed to

erect mills thereon. One John Elderkin was the first who availed himself of these proposals; and grants of land were made to him accordingly. In 1642, he sold one half of all his rights to Nathaniel Whiting, and the other half to Mr. Allin, the pastor, Nathaniel Aldis and John Dwight. In 1649, Nathaniel Whiting purchased the interest of the other owners. In 1652, he made sale of the mill and all his town rights to John Dwight, Francis Chickering, Joshua Fisher and John Morse, for £250. In 1653, he repurchased the same. In 1664, a new corn mill being deemed necessary, leave was given to Daniel Pond and Ezra Morse to erect one above that of Nathaniel Whiting, on the same stream, to be finished before the 24th of June the following year. In 1666, Nathaniel Whiting, who had remonstrated against the establishment of the new mill without effect, complained of damage therefrom to his own works, and in 1667 he commenced a suit against Ezra Morse, as obstructing the water to the injury of his mill. This suit did not result in his favor. In 1669, Nathaniel Whiting having made a new water course which crossed the highway leading to the new mill, some complaint was made, and both he and Ezra Morse were summoned before the Selectmen, and being advised with, agreed to live in peace and not interfere with the rights of each other.

There were, however, frequent complaints on the part of Nathaniel Whiting. In 1674, a committee was chosen to regulate the water at the upper dam. Complaints being renewed, in 1677, the town resolved to do nothing farther about it. So the matter stood till May 1699, when it was thought advisable to remove Morse's dam, and let the water run in its ancient channel. As a compensation for this measure, which seems to have been suggested by the owner himself, a grant of forty acres was made to Ezra Morse, 'near Neponset river, at the old saw mill, or at Everett's Plain, where he may find it most to his satisfaction; provided that the town may be otherwise provided with a mill to their full satisfaction.' In 1700, the Whiting mill was burned, and the town loaned £20 for one year, 'without any use or rent,' to Timothy Whiting, who then held the mill seat, as aid towards the erection of another mill.

The subject of 'setting up a *saw mill*' had been agitated from the year 1652 to 1658, when on the 4th March 1658-9, a long written agreement was entered into between the town and Eleazer Lusher and Joshua Fisher, in which these persons engaged to erect a saw mill on Neponset river, near the Cedar Swamp, to be completed before June 21, 1660. This was afterwards, in 1674, in possession of Thomas Clap. In 1672, Robert Crossman undertook to build a mill at Wollomonopeag, (Wrentham.) In 1678, Ezra Morse had leave to cut timber to build a saw mill

on 'Hawes' brook, in the way leading to the South meadow,' and, in 1681, was allowed to make a reservoir for the same, on the town lands. In 1682, Jona. Fairbanks and James Draper asked leave to build a *falling mill* below the corn mills on East brook, or mill creek, (as the whole stream is now called,) but the town thought proper to give the privilege to Nath'l Whiting, who was accordingly associated with James Draper in the project. In the permission given them, there was a proviso, that 'if the town, at any time, see fit to set up a corn mill upon the place, they may do so, unless the persons aforesaid will do it at their own charge, to the town's content.'

It is worthy of remark, that the descendants of Nath'l Whiting and Ezra Morse, have held the principal mill seats of the town, quite down to the present generation. The numerous branches of both of these respectable families, have always been among our most substantial citizens.

NOTE F. See page 20.

We are told by Winthrop, in his *Journal*, that *free schools* were established at Boston, Roxbury, and divers other places, in 1645. It appears by the Records, that the same thing was done in Dedham, in 1644. 'The inhabitants, taking into consideration the necessity of providing some means for the education of youth in our said town, did with an unanimous consent, declare by vote their willingness to promote that worke, promising to put to their hands to provide maintenance for a free school in our said town.' They then vote £20 per annum, and appropriate certain lands for this purpose. T. R. 1st 11 mo. 1644.

By a Court order, passed in 1642, the Selectmen of every town were required to see that the education of children was properly attended to. It was customary for the Selectmen to divide the town among themselves, each one having an eye to the children of a certain district. As an amusing instance of the orthography of some of these 'rude forefathers of the hamlet,' I insert an extract from a small book, which seems to contain memoranda of the doings of the Selectmen, &c. afterwards transferred to the large book:—

'It is agreed that the Selectmen doe take their corse to see the exsequation of the Court order consunge childring, viz. that we doe agree that two goe to gether when they goe to take account of the propheting of the youth.'

In the year 1680, Dr. Wm. Avery made a donation to the town of £60 for a *latin school*. Afterwards the town proposed to sell their school lands, and appropriate the proceeds to the instruc-

tion of youth. This was done about the year 1700. What became of the funds, thus obtained, does not appear. It was probably gradually expended. The second generation were less willing to raise money for schools, than the first comers.

NOTE G. See page 24.

Views of the Pilgrims in regard to government, &c.

‘It is yourselves who have called us to this office, and being called by you, *we have our authority from God.*’ Winthrop’s Speech in the Hingham case, 1645.

‘Two distinct ranks we willingly acknowledge, from the light of nature and scripture; the one of them called Princes, or Nobles, or Elders, (amongst whom gentlemen have their place,) the other the people. Hereditary dignity, or honours, we allow to the former, &c.: Hereditary liberty to the other, &c.’ Reply to the demands of Lord Say, Lord Brooke, and other persons of quality, made as conditions of their removing to New England, 1636.

‘Democracy I do not conceive that ever God did ordeyne as a fitt government, either for church or commonwealth. If the people be governors, who shall be governed? As for Monarchy and Aristocracy, they are both of them clearly approved and directed in scripture.’ Letter from Mr. Cotton to Lord Say and Seal, 1636.

NOTE H. See page 24.

The town voted to erect a tomb for their reverend pastor, and to pay the expenses of his funeral, which were always very considerable in case of ministers or magistrates.

It was customary to purchase gold rings for the bearers, and white leather gloves for the ministers who were present. At the funeral of the Rev. Thomas Cobbett, of Ipswich, in 1685, among the articles provided were 32 gallons of wine, and a larger quantity of cider, with 104 pounds of sugar, and about 4 doz. gloves.

In 1793, there was passed ‘An Act to retrench extraordinary expences at funerals.’

At burials, nothing was read, nor any sermon made, but all the neighborhood came together by the tolling of the bell, and carried the dead solemnly to the grave, standing by while he was buried. See Hist. of Ipswich, by Rev. J. B. Felt.

In 1637, the Gen. Court ordered that no cakes or buns should be made or sold, except for burials or weddings.* Col. Rec.

* This licence having been extended to other public occasions was probably the origin of what is called ‘*Town meeting cake.*’

NOTE I. See page 26.

It seems singular that a people situated as our forefathers were, in a rude wilderness, living, many of them, in log houses, or dwellings scarcely superior, and above all professing the severe puritan character, should be subject to the charge of extravagance in their apparel. They lived, however, at a period when great parade of dress was usual, especially upon public occasions. They came here with their habits formed in this respect, and costly lace ruffles, worn by either sex, wrought furbelows, silk or satin vests and breeches, supposed necessary to the dignity of the wearer, were not easily laid aside.

In 1636, the Gen. Court ordered, 'that no person, after one month, shall make or sell any bone lace, or other lace, to be worn upon any garment or linnen, upon paine of 5s 8d the yard for every yard of such lace so made or set on. Nor shall any taylor set lace upon any garment; provided, that binding, or small edging lace, may be used upon garments or linnen.' In 1639, the same law is repeated in substance, and it was further enacted, 'that hereafter no garment shall be made with short sleeves, whereby the nakedness of the arm may be discovered. And that hereafter no person whatsoever shall make any garment for weomen, or any other sex, with sleeves more than half an ell wide in the widest part, and so proportionate for bigger or smaller persons. And for present reformation of immoderate great sleeves, and some other superfluities, which may easily be redressed without much prejudice or spoil of garments, as immoderate great breeches, knots of ryban, broad shoulder bands and rayles, silk rases, double ruffles, cuffes, &c,—it is ordered, &c.' Slashed clothes, except one slash in each sleeve, and one in the back, embroidery, bands, crayles, gold and silver girdles, hat-bands, belts, cuffs, wings, beaver hats, and long hair, came under the ban of the law, in 1634. In 1675, there was a statute passed against periwigs, and 'the cutting, curling, and immodest laying out of hair,' and against 'the addition of superstitious ribbons both on hair and apparel.' Col. Rec.

We may judge from these what is meant by the 'excess in apparel,' for which our ancestors became amenable to the law.

NOTE K. See page 29.

The questions addressed by the Indians to Mr. Allin and others, who sought to enlighten them, will illustrate their intellectual condition, and degree of aptness for religious instruction, better than any description could do.

‘Why have not beasts a soul as man hath, seeing they have love and anger as man hath? Why doth God punish in hell for ever? Man will let out of prison. Does God understand *Indium*? Since we all came from one father, how came English to know God and not we? Why does not God kill the Devil? Does the Devil dwell in us as we in a house? What says a soul when it goes to heaven or hell? If a man think a prayer, does God know and reward it? If a man be almost a good man, and die so, whither goes his soul? If I sin, and know not it is sin, what will God say to that? Is faith in my heart, or my mind? If my heart be full of ill thoughts, and I repent and pray, and yet it is full again and again, what will God say?’ A woman asked, ‘Do I pray when my husband prays, if I speak nothing as he doth, yet if I like what he saith, and my heart goes with it?’ One Indian said to another, ‘what do you get by praying? you go naked still, and our corn is as good as yours.’

NOTE L. See page 30.

In 1373, the inhabitants of Pacomptuck complain that by reason of their remoteness from the place where the power of ordering prudentials resides, they are subject to many distresses. Whereupon the Dedham people, in lordly style, appoint their ‘trusty and well beloved and much esteemed friends,’ naming a Committee of five persons, with various powers, among other things in connection with the inhabitants, with the advice of the Elders of the two neighboring churches, they ‘have liberty to procure an orthodox minister to dispense the word of God amongst them.’

NOTE M. See page 31.

The guns in general use at the time of Philip’s war, were matchlocks, heavy and inconvenient. A crothed stick was carried for a rest, and the match was kept ignited in a tin tube with small air holes in it. Flint locks, called ‘*snaphances*,’ were rare, yet a few of them were used. The town of Dedham had a small field-piece called a Drake, given it by the General Court in 1650. The small canons then in common use, were called Drakes and Sakers.

An extract from Holmes’ Annals, of 1673, will give some idea of the resources of the Colonies at that period.

‘N. E. is supposed to contain at this time, about 120,000 souls, of whom 16,000 are able to bear arms. 1500 families in Boston.

There be 5 iron works, which cast no guns. There are 15 merchants, worth about £50,000 or £55,000, one with another. 500 persons worth £3,000 each. No house in N. E. hath above 20 rooms. Not 20 in Boston have 10 rooms each. The worst cottages are lofted. No riggers. Not three persons put to death annually, for theft. There are no musicians. A dancing school was set up, but *put down*. A fencing school is allowed. Holmes vol. I. p. 416.

The number of Indians within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, in 1674, was—

Pequods,	300 men formerly	4000 warriors.
Narragansetts,	1000 “ “	1000 “
Pawkanawkets, nearly extinct, formerly		3000 “
Massachusetts,	300 men “	3000 “
Pawtuckets,	250 “ “	3000 “

Holmes' An. Vol. I. p. 418.

The Pequods had been nearly exterminated in the war of 1636. Their tribe was broken up, and the remnant of them distributed among other tribes. The Narragansetts were nearly destroyed during Philip's war. There was an Indian by the name of Ephraim, who lived in Dedham during Philip's war, and was regularly assessed with the other inhabitants on all the tax lists, having, from the amount of his rate, considerable property. He was undoubtedly the same Indian referred to in history, as 'Peter Ephraim,' who acted as guide to the forces of the Colonies in the expedition against the Narragansetts, and performed at other times many important services.

The Massachusetts were mostly carried off by disease. The lands of these Indians, it is believed, were fairly purchased.—Chickatabot made a conveyance of the country around Boston, including the territory now occupied by Dedham, to the Mass. Colony, very early after the arrival of Gov. Winthrop and his associates. After the death of Chickatabot, which happened in 1632 or 1633, a committee was appointed to find out such Indians as remembered the bargain. A short time before the delivery of this address, Mr. John Bullard discovered in his garret, a bundle of ancient Indian deeds, which are referred to in the town records, but were supposed to be lost. Among these is one beautifully engrossed upon parchment, from Josias Wampatuck, grandson of Chickatabot, in which he states that forasmuch as he is informed by several ancient Indians, &c., that his grandfather did, for a good and sufficient consideration, convey to the English Planters the tract of land now called Dedham, he therefore, in consideration of that fact, and of a reasonable sum of money, quit claims, &c. This deed, which is long and particular, is dated 1635. There was also a quit claim from William Nahatan, alias

Quaanan, and his brothers, Peter Natooqus and Benjamin Nahatan, and their sisters, Tahkeesuisk Nahatan and Hanna Nahatan, alias Jannewwosh, all of Punkapogg, dated 1680, and another from John Magnus and Sara Magnus, of Natic, dated 1681.—There were also three deeds of the territory at Deerfield, from the Pacontuck Indians. It is to be hoped that these will be carefully preserved hereafter.

There are still several deeds missing, one from Phillip, of lands near Wrentham, and another from the Pacontuck Indians. The last of the Aborigines in Dedham, were Alexander Quabish and Sarah David, his wife. Sarah died in 1774, at the house of Mr. Joseph Wight. She was interred in the old Indian burial place, about half a mile from Mr. Wight's house, at the foot of Wigwam hill—the last person there deposited. The funeral was attended by the Rev. Jason Haven. Alexander died in Needham or Natic, in 1776.

NOTE N. See page 40.

‘Mr. Winslow being now to go for England, the Court was troubled to furnish him with money or beaver, (for there was nothing in the treasury, the country being in debt one thousand pounds, and what comes in by levies is corn and cattle,) but the Lord stirred up the hearts of some few persons to lend one hundred pounds, to be repaid by the next levy.’ Winthrop, vol. 2, p. 295. This sum was advanced by Mr. Allin, as appears by the Col. Records of 1649. ‘Ordered, that the Treasurer doe forthwith pay and satisfy unto Mr. John Allin, one hundred and thirty pounds, in the best and soonest pay that comes into the treasury out of this levy, for his hundred pounds he paid to Mr. Winslow.’ Five pounds, six pounds, and thirty shillings, are also mentioned as having been loaned by other people.

The factious Gortonists sent two messengers to the Gen. Court to make their peace. On their way, having got as far as Dedham, they learned that the Court had adjourned. One of them, therefore, addressed a letter to Gov. Winthrop, in which he says, ‘hearing at Dedham that the Court was adjourned, I made bold to advise with Mr. Powell, who advised me to repair to your worship, which upon consideration I could not do till I was assured of your worship's favorable reception.’ This ‘Mr. Powell’ was Michael Powell, who kept the ordinary. He afterwards founded the second church in Boston, where they wished to make him Pastor, but the Gen. Court interfered, supposing him not to have sufficient learning. He was however allowed to be ruling Elder, an office nearly as important as that of Pastor. Winthrop's Hist. Col. Records.

NOTE O. See page 41.

Other evidences are not wanting of Mr. Allin's decision of character, and of his standing in public estimation. In the year 1662, a famous Synod was held at Boston, by order of the Gen. Court, to determine, among other things, who were the subjects of baptism. It was decided that the children of such as made a public profession of their faith, although not in full communion, might be admitted to baptism. This decision was attacked by Mr. Chauncey, President of the College, in print, and defended by Mr. Allin, it is stated, with much ability. Mr. Allin also published a defence of the 'nine positions.' His name stands at the head of a list of seventeen of the most distinguished divines in the Colony, who remonstrated against the proceedings which occasioned the formation of the third church in Boston, in 1670.—It also stands at the head of a similar list of clergymen who presented an address to the General Court, vindicating their own conduct in the abovenamed matter. Hutch. Hist.

Mr. Allin was of sufficient note in England to make it necessary for him to escape in disguise to this country. This was also done at the same time by Mr. John Fiske, who was at first settled in Salem, and afterwards in Chelmsford. They were in the habit of preaching to the passengers on board the vessel, every day—so that one of the latter, being examined about his going to divert himself with a hook and line on the Lord's day, protested he did not know when the Lord's day was; he thought every day was a Sabbath day, for they did nothing but preach and pray from one end of the week to the other. They arrived in 1637. Allen's Hist. of Chelmsford.

Cotton Mather says of Mr. Allin,—'being a very *humble* man, he found that *sanctified knowledge* grows more luxuriant in the fat valleys of humility—being a very *patient* man, he found that the dew of heaven, which falls not in a stormy or cloudy night, was always falling on a soul ever serene with the meekest patience.' Mather's Magnalia.

NOTE P. See page 41.

Mr. Dexter wrote much both upon politics and theology, but as he, before his death, burned most of his manuscripts, but few writings known to be his, remain. Bradford, in his History of Massachusetts, states that he intended to have inserted in his appendix, an able essay on the supreme power of Parliament, written by Mr. Dexter, but had mislaid it. When Gen. Washington took the command of the army at Cambridge, Mr. Dexter, at

that time a member of the Council, was recommended to him as one in whose judgment and fidelity he could rely. Becoming dissatisfied with some measures that were adopted contrary to his advice by the government, he retired wholly from public life, and devoting himself to his favorite studies declined accepting any office afterwards. He left a bequest of five thousand dollars to Harvard College.

NOTE Q. See page 48.

I have purposely omitted to dwell upon that portion of the History of Dedham which relates to Ecclesiastical matters and the character of the ministry here, knowing that at the close of the second century from the organization of the Church in this place a suitable commemoration of that event is contemplated.

While aiming to give a concise review of a portion of the History of Dedham appropriate to the occasion, the writer of this address has endeavored to select such incidents and pursue such a course of narration as would encroach as little as possible upon the labors of Mr. Worthington, to whom the credit of first undertaking to develop the history of the town belongs. In the present case, the Town Records, and the Public Documents preserved in the State house, have been, except where a different reference is given, the chief sources of information.

The writer is much indebted to the Rev. Mr. Felt, who is now engaged in arranging the State papers, for his politeness in affording every facility for their examination.

Some facts have been verbally communicated by gentlemen of the town.

COMMUNICATED BY THE HON. WILLIAM ELLIS.

It appears by our ancient Records, that the inhabitants of Dedham have frequently turned out Soldiers or armed men, for their defence and safety, from the early settlement of the town.

The following statement of Officers and Soldiers from Dedham, who, at sundry periods, rendered military services in the principal wars and commotions of this country for two centuries past, was taken from the Army Rolls, from Town Records, and from other sources to be relied on, but is believed to fall short of the actual numbers who served on most of those occasions,—Viz:

WAR WITH KING PHILIP.—1675.

Names of men from Dedham who received pay for military services between the date of Feb. 29, and Dec. 10, 1675, viz.—

John Parker	Daniel Breight	Samuel Barry
William Dean	John Fuller	Nathaniel Richards
Thomas Bishop	Samuel Whiting	Jonathan Smith
Jonathan Fairbank	John Paine	John Rice
John Streeter	Richard Wood (sup-	William Blake
Richard Bennett	posed Woodard)	John Baker
Joshua Fisher	Josiah White	(21)
Jonathan Dunning	John Ellis	

1676.

Men who received pay for military services between January 24th and December 27th, 1676—viz:

Joseph Skelteane	James Macanab	Abraham Hathaway
John Smith	Thomas Herring	Jonathan Metcalfe
Caleb Rey	Samuel Shers	Daniel Fisher
Nathaniel Dunklin	John Houghton	Jonathan Whitney
Benjamin Mills	Samuel Rice	Daniel Haws
John Colborne	Eleazer Guild	Samuel Guild
James Heering	Nathaniel Kingsbury	James Vales
Samuel Fuller	John Elleworth	*John Groce
William Makeyms	Nathaniel Heaton	*Samuel Nowannett
John Fairbank	John Fisher	(29)

Besides those above named, John Freeman, John Day, Samuel Colburn, Robert Ware, Henry Elliot and Ephraim Pond, are spoken of as having been '*impressed* by virtue of a warrant from ye Major.'

At this time, Dedham included the territory since incorporated into the towns of Needham, Natick, Bellingham, Walpole, and Dover.

* Indians.

There is a tradition concurred in by the aged people of the south parish, that about the year A. D. 1740, six men engaged from that part of the town, in an expedition against Havanna on the Island of Cuba, and that no one of them ever returned, but died of sickness, the names of two only are ascertained, viz.—Walter Hixon and Eleazer Farrington.

FIRST FRENCH WAR.—1744—5.

Served at the long and memorable siege of Louisburg, Cape Breton, a number of men from Dedham; the names of eight only are ascertained, viz:—Rev Thomas Baleh as Chaplain, Capt. Eleazer Fisher, William Weatherbee, Samuel Weatherbee, John Thorp, Michael Brite, Samuel Thorp, and Hugh Delap.

Mr. Baleh, and others of these men, returned home from this siege, after an absence of sixteen months. Capt. Fisher also returned as far as Boston, but there died of sickness. Hugh Delap, a skilful gunner and engineer, was killed at the siege, by the bursting of a cannon. He had, previously to that event, disposed of his effects by a Will, which he sent to his friends in the south parish, where the same has been preserved to the present day.

LAST FRENCH WAR,—1755 to 1763.

Served—Viz:

Capt. Wm. Bacon	Joseph Morse	William Ellis
Capt. Timothy Ellis	James Whitaker	Isaac Stowell
Capt. Eliphalet Fales	William Sterret	Aaron Gay
Lt. Aaron Guild	Ezra Bullard	Thomas Weatherbee
Lt. Daniel Whiting	Gilead Morse	Joseph Farrington
Ebenezer Everitt	William Lewis	James Weatherbee
Benjamin Fairbanks	Joseph Whittemore	Robert Mann
Joseph Wight	Hezekiah Farrington	Levi Morse
Stephen Hart	Thomas Baleh, jr.	Josiah Everitt
Moses Fisher	John Lewis	Nathaniel Farrington
Aaron Ellis	Benjamin Lewis	Ephraim Richards
Isaac Little	Ephraim Farrington	Seth Farrington
William Calleyham	Sammuel Colburn	Moses Richards
John Carby	Joseph Lewis	Joseph Turner
Eliphalet Thorp	Samuel Farrington	Joseph Wight, jr.
John Hawes	Sammuel Backet	Nathan Whiting
Anthony Dyer	Lemuel Richards	David Cleveland
William Hart	Hezekiah Gay	(52)

The military services in this war, were rendered at Ticonderoga, Fort Edward, Fort William Henry, Lake George, and other places in that direction westward, at Canada northward, and at the Bay of Fundy, and Louisburg at Cape Breton, eastward.

REVOLUTIONARY WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.

1775 to 1783.

Names of men who served in this war, either in the regular Continental Army, or who in the State service, performed military duty in one or more distant campaigns.—Viz:

Col. Daniel Whiting	*Ebenr. Fisher, Esq.	*Lewis Colburn
Capt. Joseph Guild	*N. Kingsbury, Esq.	*Jacob Guild
Capt. George Gould	*Benj. Bussey, Esq.	*William Fairbanks
Capt. Timothy Stow	*Nathl. Chickering	*John Richards
Capt. Eliplht. Thorp	*Joshua Whiting	*Joshua Fales
Capt. Wm. Stephens	*Jonathan Richards	*Josiah Draper
Capt. Ebenr. Everitt	Joseph Dean	*Hezekiah Turner
Lt. John Gay	Lemuel Herring	*Nathaniel Bills
Lt. Samuel Doggett	Joseph Onion	*Enoch Harris
Lt. Lemuel Richards	Abner Lewis	William Mason
Lt. James Kingsbury	Ichabod Farrington	Ebenezer Bills
Lt. Ichabod Gay	John Croshier	David Humphrey
Oliver Guild	William Everitt	Hezekiah Whiting
Aaron Guild, jr.	David Dana	John Ruggles
Thomas Larabee	Thomas Eaton	Thaddeus Fuller
Enoch Talbot	Abner Nevers	Nathaniel Fisher
Thomas Colburn	John Smith	Hezekiah Metcalf
John Johnson	Samuel Fairbanks	Archillus Clark
Abiel Pettee	Eliphalet Fuller 2d	Abijah Crane
Luther Bullard	Jacob Smith	Samuel Clark
Timothy Morse	Nathaniel Gay	Seth Farrington
Benjamin Dean	Benjamin Fisher	Stephen Arnold
George Sumner	Daniel Pettee	Samuel Farrington
Benjamin Fuller	Seth Fuller	Aaron Fisher
Lemuel Stowell	Samuel Adams	Thaddeus Richards
Jacob Cleveland	Thomas Lewis	Timothy Lewis
Abner Bacon	Zaccheus Hawes	David Smith
Moses Guild	Abner Farrington	Samuel Chickering
William Coney	William Graham	Barak Smith

* Living in Dedham, or its vicinity, at the time of the Centennial Anniversary. There are others of the above list yet living in the neighboring States.

Thomas Ackley	David Richards	Jonathan Whiting
Isaac Doggett	Josiah Bullard	George White
Israel Fairbanks, jr.	Daniel Clark	Ichabod Colburn
Abel Everett	Ambrose Davenport	Jonathan Onion
Lemuel Pales	Elias Fairbanks	Ths. Weatherbee, jr.
Aaron Whiting 2d	Josiah Everett, jr.	(106)
Ezra Gay	Eli Farrington	

Beside the men above enumerated, very considerable numbers of our townsmen performed longer or shorter tours of military service, in this vicinity only, viz:—at Lexington battle, at Roxbury, Cambridge, Fort Hill, Lamb's Dam, Dorchester Heights, Castle Island, Nantaskett, and at many places on the frontiers of Rhode Island.*

A number of this class of men were still living in Dedham and Dover on the day of the celebration.—Viz:

Lt. Aaron Whiting	Jere. Shuttleworth	Joel Guild
Dea. Jesse Gay	Thadens Gay	Jeremiah Baker
John Dean	Reuben Richards	Phineas Colburn
Joseph Baker	Elihu Onion	(13)
Calvin Whiting, Esq.	John Brown	

INSURRECTION.—1786—1787.

In the month of December, 1786, the Executive Government of Massachusetts made a requisition on the town of Dedham for a quota of men to march to the westerly part of the State, to sustain the supremacy of the laws, and suppress an Insurrection instigated by Daniel Shays. The requisition was promptly complied with, by a company made up of volunteers, who in the midst of a most severe winter, marched to Connecticut River and Vermont. The Insurgents were soon dispersed and order restored, with the loss of but few lives.

Names of the men who thus volunteered.

Capt. Daniel Fisher	David Bullard	Timothy Morse
Lt. Lewis Colburn	Jacob Penniman	Nathan Ellis, jr.
David Ellis	Josiah White	Edward Buckminster
Amasa Guild	Isaac Smith	Enoch Harris
Lemuel Gay	Thomas Farrington	David Smith
John Baker	Comfort Weatherbee	Ebenezer Shepard
Joseph Howe	William Symms	William Fisher

* The late Fisher Ames, then quite a young man, went out in one or more of these expeditions, in the company of Capt. Abel Richards.

Jeremiah Fisher	Jabez Wight	Jesse Lyon
Nathaniel Lewis	Ebenezer Guild	Samuel Robinson
Joel Guild	Nathan Metcalf	Heman Bostwick
Ebenezer Wilkinson	William Wight	Joseph Conner
Lewis Thorp	Seth Farrington	Joel Richards
William Maxfield	Aaron Fuller	Benjamin Herring
Silas Morse	Ithamer Farrington	Jesse Richards
William Shepard	Thadeus Carby	John Whitaker (45)

WAR OF 1812.

The Dedham Light Infantry Company, under Capt. Abner Guild, performed several months military service, at South Boston, in the war of 1812.

The preceding military services are not mentioned by way of boasting, but merely to show that the inhabitants of Dedham, from its early settlement, have not been behind other towns in their readiness to meet danger and privation, in defence of their firesides, their rights and liberties, or to sustain the supremacy of the laws, when menaced by unlawful power. With the sincere hope that the bright examples of virtue, moral courage, military ardor and patriotism, exhibited by our townsmen in the cause of justice and humanity, in the two Centuries past, will inspire the hearts of their successors with a determined zeal in all coming time when justice calls, to 'go and do likewise.'

CELEBRATION AT DEDHAM.

SEPTEMBER 21, 1836.

At a town-meeting, held on the 9th day of November, 1835, a committee of twenty-one citizens was appointed to make arrangements for the celebration of the second centennial anniversary of the incorporation and settlement of the town, and to report their proceedings at a future town-meeting.

The Report of this committee was made on the 7th of March, 1836, as follows—

The committee appointed, &c. *Report,*

'That they have procured and engaged SAMUEL F. HAVEN, Esq. to compose and deliver an Address on that occasion. And

your Committee submit to the Town the following Report as to the Arrangements to be made to carry their vote into effect.

1st, That the Address be delivered in the Meeting house in the first parish in Dedham, on Wednesday, the twenty first day of September next, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon.

2d, That the reverend Clergy of the several Societies in the Town be invited to attend, and that Prayers be offered by ~~such~~ of them as they may agree upon.

3d, That the Choirs of Singers in the several religious Societies in the Town are invited to attend and perform Sacred Music.

4th, That the Dedham Light Infantry Company are requested to attend and perform Escort duties.

5th, That a procession be formed, and move to the Meeting House at half past ten o'clock in the forenoon, preceded by the Escort and Music.

6th, That a public Dinner be provided for those who choose to subscribe, and that the Reverend Clergy be invited to partake of it with the Subscribers.

7th, That suitable Instrumental Music be provided to attend the Escort and Procession, at the expense of the Town.

8th, That these, and all minor Arrangements for the occasion, be made by such Committee as the Town may see fit to choose.'

At a town-meeting, held on the 11th day of April A. D. 1836, William Ellis, Enos Foord, Ira Cleveland, William King Gay, and Jabez Coney, Jr. were chosen a committee to carry the arrangements, recommended in the foregoing report, into full effect.

Under the direction of this Committee of Arrangements, were the following proceedings.

On the 21st of September, at sunrise, the bells of the several Churches were rung, and a salute of one hundred guns fired. At half past 10 o'clock, a procession was formed at the town house, under the direction of Nathaniel Guild, as Chief Marshal, assisted by Marshals,

John Morse	Ira Russell	Nathan Phillips
Luther Eaton	Merrill Ellis	Josiah Dean 2d
Theodore Gay 2d	Samuel C. Mann	Benjamin Boyden
Reuben Guild 2d	Edward B. Holmes	Joseph Day
Ezra W. Taft	Edward D. Weld	Elbridge G. Robinson
James Downing	Austin Bryant	Theodore Metcalf
Francis Guild	Nath'l A. Hewins	Reuben G. Trescott
Stephen Barry	Joseph Fisher	
Joseph A. Wilder	John D. Colburn	

The procession moved under the escort of the Dedham Light Infantry, commanded by Capt. William Pedrick, with a band of music, through the principal streets, to the Meeting House of the First Parish. At the Norfolk Hotel, the procession was joined by His Excellency, EDWARD EVERETT, Governor of the Commonwealth, and his suite; and also by the reverend Clergy and other invited guests. On the green, in front of the Meeting House, was an ornamental arch, erected for the occasion, and covered with evergreens and flowers. Upon one side of it was inscribed, 'Incorporated, 1636;' and on the other, '1836.' Between this arch and the Meeting House, eight Engine Companies had placed their engines and apparatus, in two lines, leaving a space between them for the passing of the procession. On the inner sides of these lines, about five hundred children of the different schools were arranged by their instructors. Through this arch, and between these lines of children, the procession passed into the House.

The services were commenced by singing the anthem, 'Wake the song of Jubilee,' &c. Prayer was then offered by the Rev. Alvan Lamson, of the First Parish. The following hymn, composed for the occasion by the Rev. John Pierpont of Boston, was read by the Rev. Calvin Durfee, of the South Parish, and sung to the tune of 'Old Hundred.'

Not now, O God, beneath the trees
That shade this plain, at night's cold noon
Do Indian war-songs load the breeze,
Or wolves sit howling to the moon.

The foes, the fears our fathers felt,
Have, with our fathers, passed away;
And where, in their dark hours, they knelt,
We come to praise thee and to pray.

We praise thee that thou plantedst them,
And mad'st thy heavens drop down their dew,
We pray that, shooting from their stem,
We long may flourish where they grew.

And, Father, leave us not alone:—
Thou hast been, and art still our trust:—
Be thou our fortress, till our own
Shall mingle with our father's dust.

The foregoing Address was then delivered by Samuel F. Haven.

Another anthem was then sung, and the services were closed with a Benediction by the Rev. Samuel B. Babcock, of the Episcopal Church.

At the close of the services, a procession was again formed of the subscribers to a Dinner, and their guests, and was escorted to a Pavilion, erected for the occasion, on land of John Bullard, a few rods west of the Meeting House, where about six hundred persons were seated at the tables. James Richardson presided at this dinner, assisted by John Endicott, George Bird, Abner Ellis, Theron Metcalf and Thomas Barrows, as Vice Presidents. A blessing was asked, by the Rev. John White, of the West Parish, and thanks returned by the Rev. Dr. Jonathan Homer, of Newton.

After the cloth was removed, the President announced the following (among other) sentiments, which were received with great satisfaction, and interspersed with music from the band which accompanied the procession, and with appropriate songs.

1. *The Day*, with all its hallowed associations and congenial joys: May we prove true and faithful to our ancestors, to our institutions, and to posterity.

2. *The memory of the first settlers of this town*, their resolution, fortitude, perseverance, and devotion to civil and religious liberty: May we never, in our zeal to outstrip them in *accomplishments*, leave their *virtues* in the rear.

3. *The Governor of the Commonwealth*: The stock was the growth of our own soil; a branch is refreshing the State by its shadow, and its fruit has been healthful to the nation.

His Excellency, the Governor, then addressed the President and company, as follows—

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—I cannot but be sensibly affected by the kind notice you are pleased to take of me. The occasion is one, which must interest every reflecting mind.—No one can witness what we behold at this moment, or hear what we have heard this day, without being highly gratified: but the toast, which has been announced, must prepare you for my saying that though personally a stranger to almost all present, I take more than a stranger's interest in the celebration. My ancestors, from the very first foundation of Dedham in 1636, were established here, and like the great majority of the people, in the unambitious condition of cultivators of the soil. The name of the first of them, who has been so kindly remembered

by the orator of the day, in his most appropriate, eloquent, and instructive discourse, is found in the list of the original settlers of the place. In the second generation, I have just perceived in one of the interesting ancient parchments, which have passed along the table, that another of the name was one of the four Commissioners, who in 1636 received a confirmation of the Indian title, from the grandson of Chickatawbut, of whom it was originally purchased. My own honored father was born and grew up to manhood here, in the same humble sphere:—and as I came back to-day, fellow-citizens, to breathe among you the native air of my race,—I must say that, with the greater experience I have of the cares and trials of public station, the more ready I am to wish, that it had been my lot to grow up and pass my life, in harmless obscurity, in these peaceful shades, and after an unobtrusive career, to be gathered to my sires, in the old Dedham grave-yard, where,

Each in his narrow cell forever laid,
The rude forefathers of the hamlet sleep.

But not to dwell any longer on what is merely personal to an individual, let me say, sir, that I regard a festival like this, not only as highly interesting but exceedingly significant and instructive. It is often said by superficial writers in Europe, that our institutions are a mere experiment,—the mushroom growth of yesterday;—and from this assumed fact of their recent origin, their short-lived duration is foreboded. To this reproach, let the expressive answers be given in the golden cyphers blazoned on the front of the pulpit this day, 1636, and tastefully wreathed in evergreen on the arch which adorns yonder lawn. The mushroom growth of yesterday! Sir, this is a centennial, a second centennial anniversary. Our Institutions, political, civil, and social are not of yesterday,—they are substantially two hundred years old. Their foundation is not laid on modern straw or stubble; it goes down to the lowest stratum,—the origin of the colony,—the primitive rock. We have, I trust, in all things where it was needful or practicable, kept pace with and even gone beyond the improvements of the long intervening period, but as all the substantial elements of our rights and liberties were implanted by the fathers, so in all things there has been a measured progress and a slow ripening towards maturity. The federal constitutions and the constitutions of the States, which have most attracted the notice of Europe, are indeed the work of the last generation; but the great principles on which they are founded are coeval with the country. You might as well call the great oak tree in front of Mr. Avery's house, in East street, the growth of yesterday, because its broad expanse of

foliage has put forth the present season, whereas its acorn was deposited generations ago, and its trunk has braved the blasts of two centuries. The wonderful progress and development which have taken place in the country, in the last forty years, and no where perhaps more than in Dedham, are but the spreading branches, the waving foliage, the ripened fruit from that germ, which our fathers planted in tribulation and watered with their tears. The principles were early here. Here in Massachusetts,—more than two centuries ago, while the people yet abode in those log houses, which were alluded to by the orator, and constructed by each man for himself, (for artizans as yet there were none,) with the Indian in the neighboring swamp, and the wolf at midnight before the threshold,—there was a solid frame-work of representative government,—a well compacted civil society,—there were laws and tribunals to enforce them,—there were schools and provision for their support; there was a college generously endowed by public and private liberality, of which Mr. Allen, your first minister, was one of the first overseers: and there was meet provision for the maintenance of the Worship of God, and the dispensation of the Gospel. All this is two hundred years old among us, and I trust in Heaven that before it ceases, from among us, it will be two thousand.

I derive from the age of these our institutions, (and surely they are the life and soul of the body politic,—that which gives outward forms their power and value,) an argument in favor of their permanence. They will not go down with tomorrow's sun, for they did not spring up yesterday. They were not reared by our hands, and when we perish they will survive us. They guided and cheered our fathers, and carried them through dark and trying times, and I have a cheerful hope that, for long generations to come, they will guide and direct our children.

Sir, I mean no empty compliment when I say, that, taking the character of your ancient town as it appears in history,—or even in the instructive summary, which the Orator has given us of it, it appears to me an admirable specimen of the true New England character. We may take a distinction in this matter. In first breaking the way in the arduous enterprize of settling a new country,—especially under the discouraging circumstances in which our fathers were placed,—it was perhaps unavoidable, that some harsh and repulsive traits should be found on the part of some of the leaders:—and in point of fact, such traits are found in the characters of some of the chief men at Boston and Salem. But I do not find them here. The settlers of Dedham appeared, to use a homely phrase, singularly disposed to keep out of hot water. They left the harassing controversies of the day to their brethren at the Northern part of the Colony.

There was but one topic, on which they warmed into passion, and that was LIBERTY. When that was in peril, they were wrought to a noble frenzy. If a poor Quaker was to be scourged at the Cart-tail, as the Orator told us, they waited in Dedham for orders from the Metropolis; but when a usurper was to be prostrated, when the country people were to rush to Town 'in such heat and rage' as to make the Boston folks tremble: when a bold champion was required, to burst into Mr. Usher's house, to drag forth the tyrant by the collar, to bind him, and cast him into the Fort, then Dedham is ready with her intrepid Daniel Fisher,—the son of the proscribed speaker of the same name,—'a second Daniel,' as the Orator beautifully expressed it, 'literally come to judgment!'

But this was the overflowing of popular feeling, at a crisis. In ordinary times, the name they wished to give their settlement, *Contentment*, though of a somewhat puritanical sound, well expresses their character. But though they were contented with their condition, it was not a stupid contentment. They had not 'the flagrant stupidity,' to use the quaint combination of ideas, which the Orator quoted from your revolutionary records, to set at naught all efforts at improvement. Theirs was a rational contentment,—pretty busy in trying to better their condition, that they might have more to be contented with. Not to speak of the great enterprize of settling Deerfield, they set an example, in the very infancy of the Town, of an enlarged and liberal policy of improvement, in constructing the Canal which unites the waters of the Charles with those of the Neponset, and this, as we were told by the Orator, as early as 1639. Why, sir, this communication used to be spoken of, as a wonderful natural phenomenon. It has turned out to be an artificial work, executed by the order of the town, three years after the settlement. Well may it be called Mother Brook, parent as it is of all the thousand works of internal improvement, which have spread their net-work over the country, bringing Art to the aid of Nature, and calling Science to minister to the comfort and prosperity of Man. It is a pleasing proof of the good judgment, with which the work was projected, that it still serves the purpose, for which it was originally designed, and is the seat of activity, industry, and productive power, contributing essentially to the prosperity of Dedham. Without taking up more of your time, Sir, I beg leave to propose as a closing sentiment:—

Our Fathers—In their piety and humility, contented with a little, may their posterity, to whom they have bequeathed a heritage of the richest blessings, be contented and grateful in its enjoyment, and faithful in its transmission!

4. *The University at Cambridge*—the offspring of the labors and privations of the Puritan Fathers: while we venerate the parents, let us cherish the child: and may it always be guided by as unerring a hand as now holds the reins.

5. *Practical Education*: That teaches what to do, and when to do it, and never to rest satisfied till it is done, and well done.

6. The objects of the deep solicitude of our ancestry—the *church and the school house*: May the progress of religious, moral and intellectual culture within, transcend that of material beauty without.

7. *The memory of the Rev. Samuel Dexter and Doctor Nathaniel Ames, Senior*: Townsmen, distinguished for piety and learning, science and philosophy; and whose descendants have been, and are, among the gifted and illustrious men of our nation.

8. *The principles and spirit that brought the pilgrims to these shores*—cherished and venerated by succeeding ages, embodied in our constitution and laws—dispensing blessings over our whole country—in peace or war, in weal or woe, may we never abandon those principles, nor prove recreant to that spirit.

9. *The memory of Governor Winthrop*: His presence awed the savages during his life: He is indebted to a *Savage* for the best edition of his memorable 'Journal.'

10. *The Militia*—the only safe defence of Republics: When legislators doubt, let them consult the spirits of Warren, Prescott, and the Heroes of Bunker Hill.

On announcing sentiments alluding to the guests, or their ancestors, several, besides the Governor, addressed the company—among others, John Davis, Judge of the District Court of the United States for the District of Massachusetts—Josiah Quincy, President of Harvard College—Henry A. S. Dearborn, Adjutant General of the Commonwealth—William Jackson, Representative in Congress—Franklin Dexter—Alexander H. Everett—and Robert C. Winthrop, Aid to Governor Everett. A great number of sentiments were also given by invited guests and by the citizens of the town.

An interesting part of the proceedings at this celebration was performed by the Ladies of Dedham. They spread a table the whole length of the lower floor of the Court House, and very tastefully furnished it with a most ample collation. The court room was used as a drawing room, and the library room was ad-

mirably decorated, and tables there supplied and adorned with delicate fruits, native and exotic.

A piano forte was placed in the court room, and music formed part of the entertainment. The following Hymn prepared for the occasion (by a lady,) was sung by the ladies, accompanying the piano.

Welcome, all dear friends, returning,
 Though from different paths you come;
 Welcome all whose hearts are yearning
 For their dear-loved native home.

Some in foreign lands have wandered,
 Some from the 'far west' have come;
 Yet where'er the footsteps lingered,
 Thought still turned to 'home, sweet home!'

Many a well-known face shall meet ye,
 Many a joyous smile shall bless;
 Many a kindred heart shall greet ye,
 While old friends around you press.

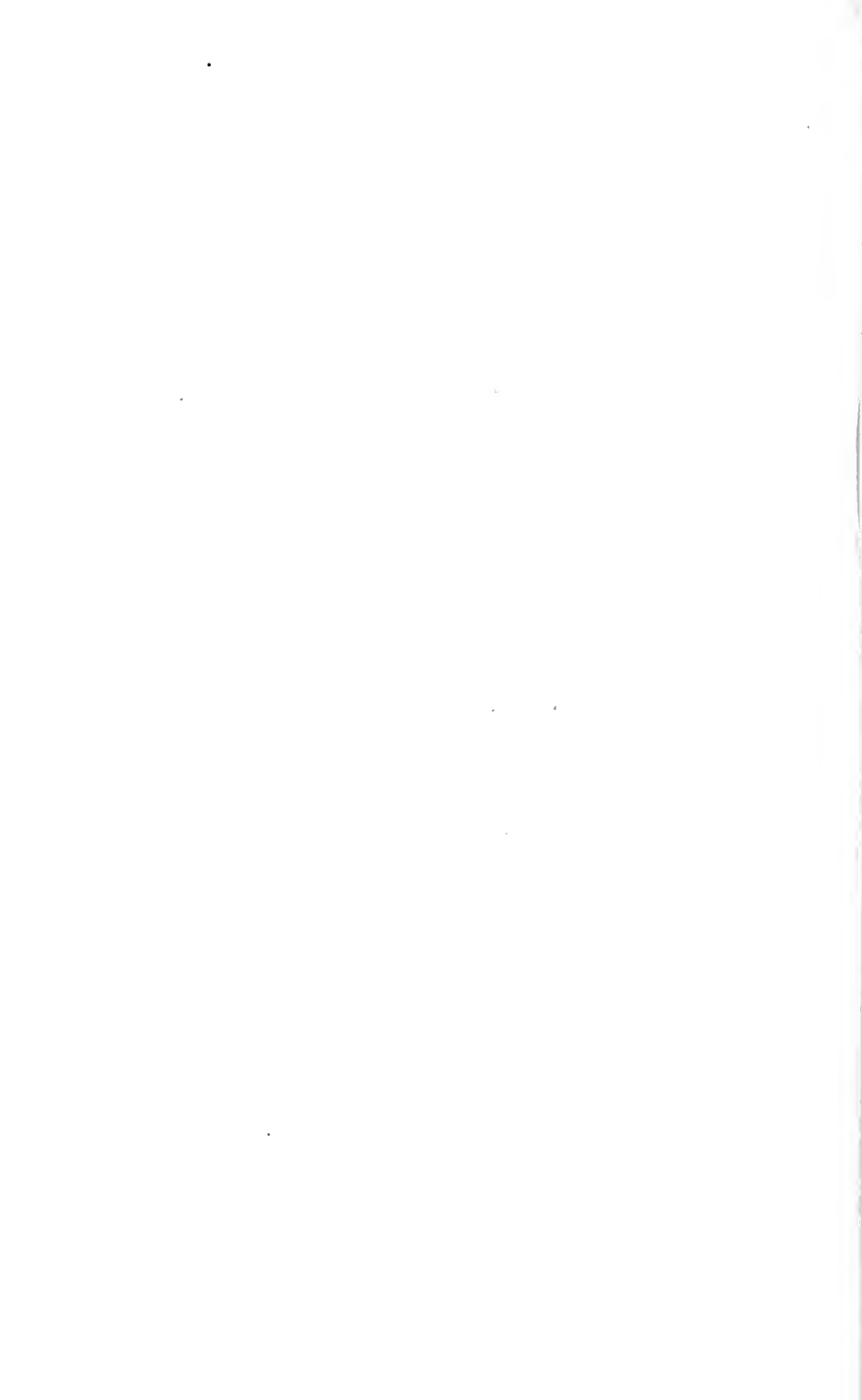
Come then, hasten, with us gather
 Round our simple festive board;
 Come, and with us bless that Father,
 Who on all his love hath poured.

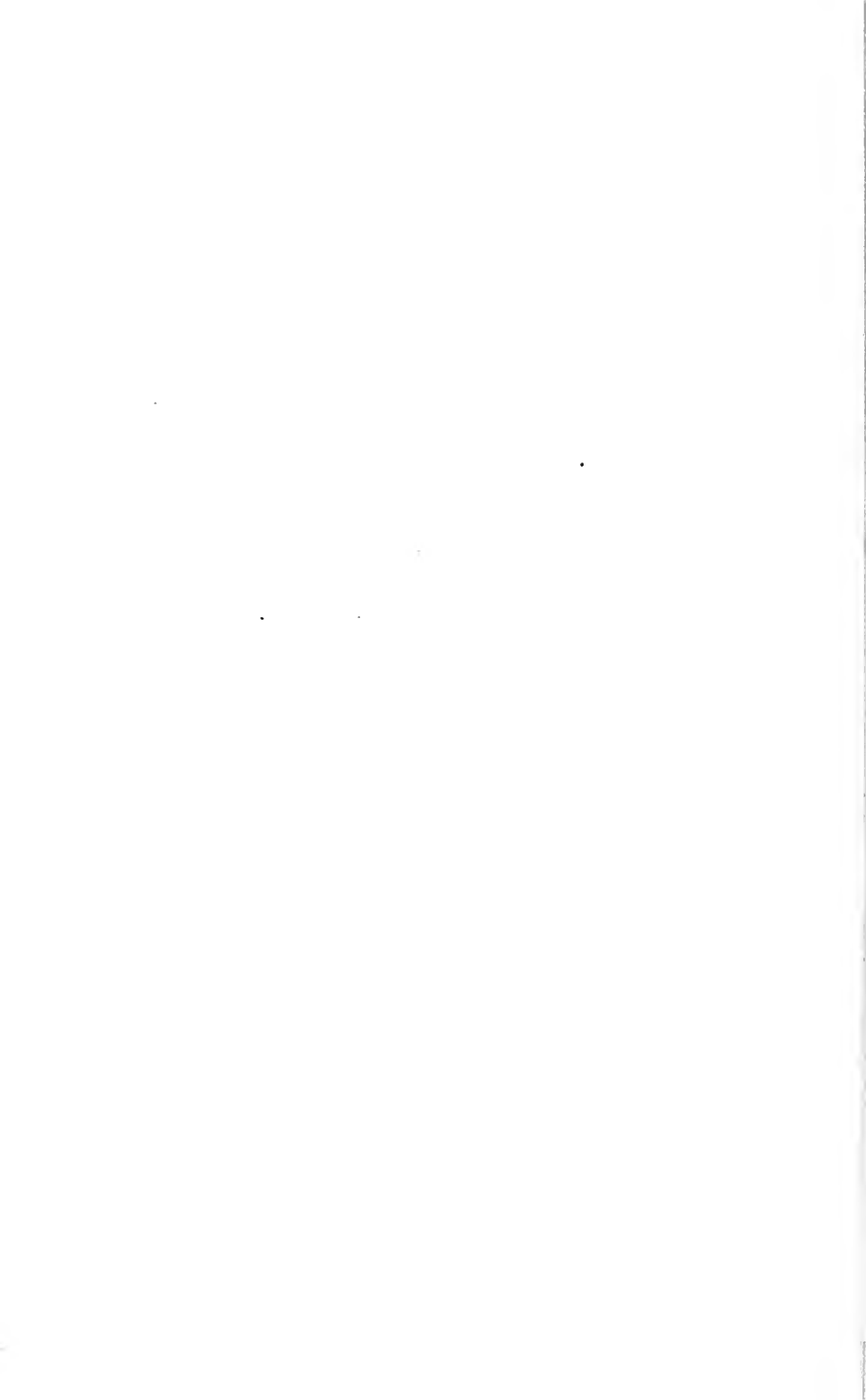
Condescend to grant Thy blessing,
 Thou who dost our lives defend,
 While Thy children Thee addressing,
 Own Thee as their common Friend.

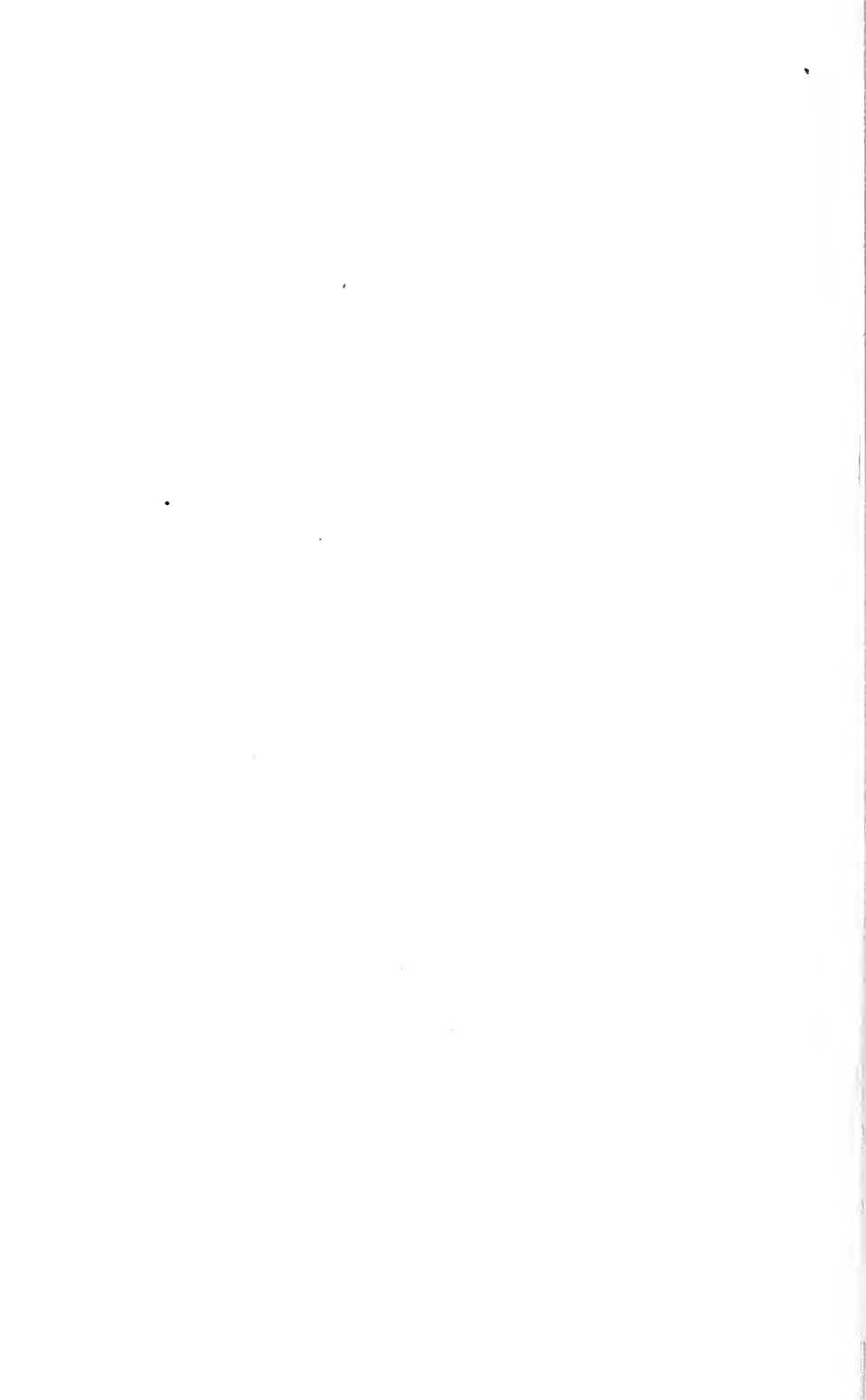
At the request of the managers of this exhibition, a gentlemen made an informal suggestion to the Governor, in the morning, that the ladies, at the court house, would be happy to receive him and his suite, and to tender him their respect and hospitality. His Excellency expressed his readiness to accede to their wishes; and on retiring from the table at the pavilion, at about five o'clock, he proceeded to the court room, where he passed half an hour, to the great gratification of the ladies, and apparently with pleasure to himself. The singing of the hymn was repeated, while he was in the room. After he had been invited into the library room, and had partaken of the fruits, he returned to the court room, and from the bench made a short address to the ladies—in which he remarked on the privations, sufferings, fortitude and piety of the first mothers and daughters

of the colony, and concluded by inviting them to cherish the memory of the Lady Arbella Johnson.

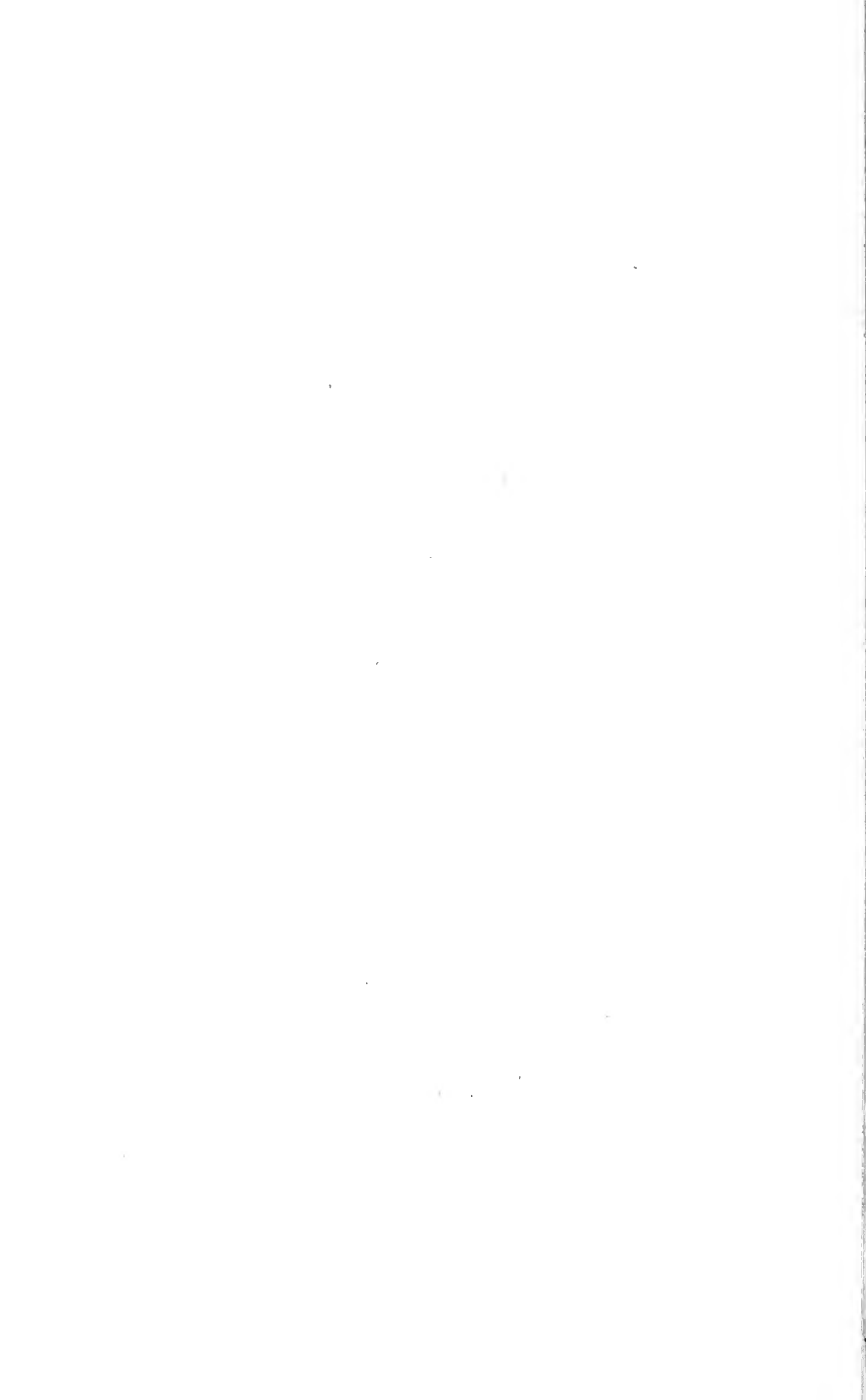
The informal invitation of the ladies was extended to all the other gentlemen who were invited as guests, by the Committee of Arrangements; and several of them, besides the Governor's suite, accompanied him to the court house.

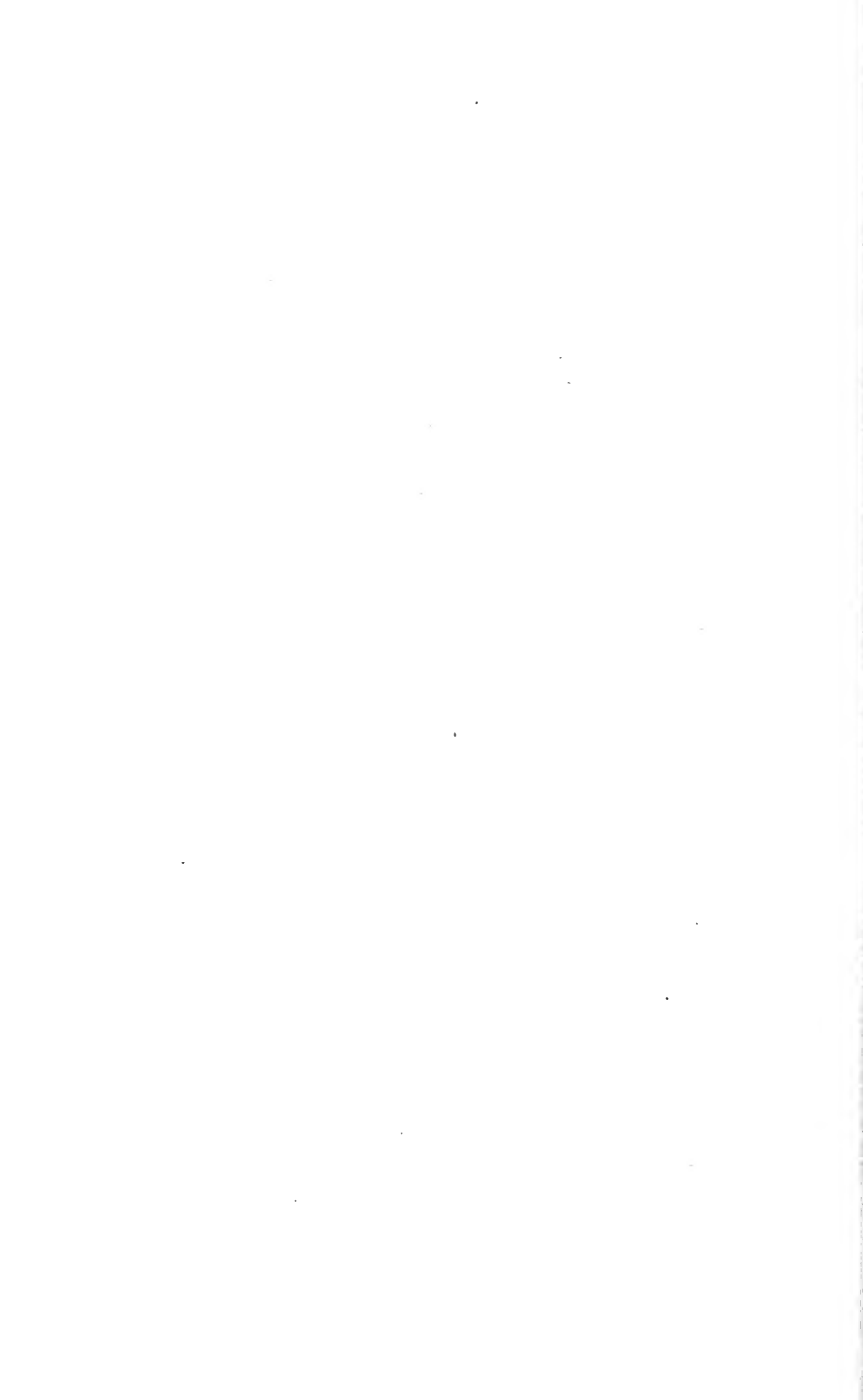


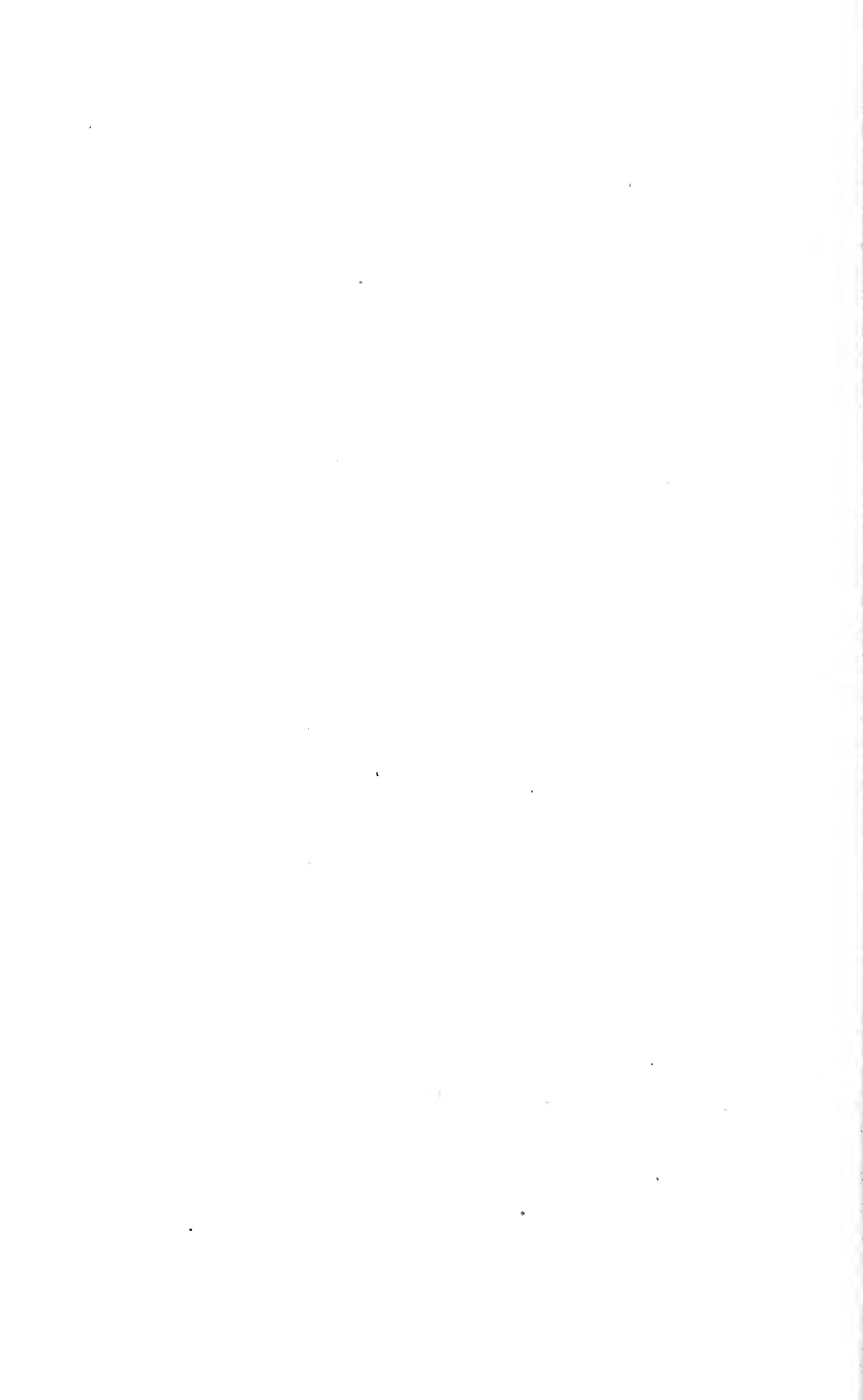


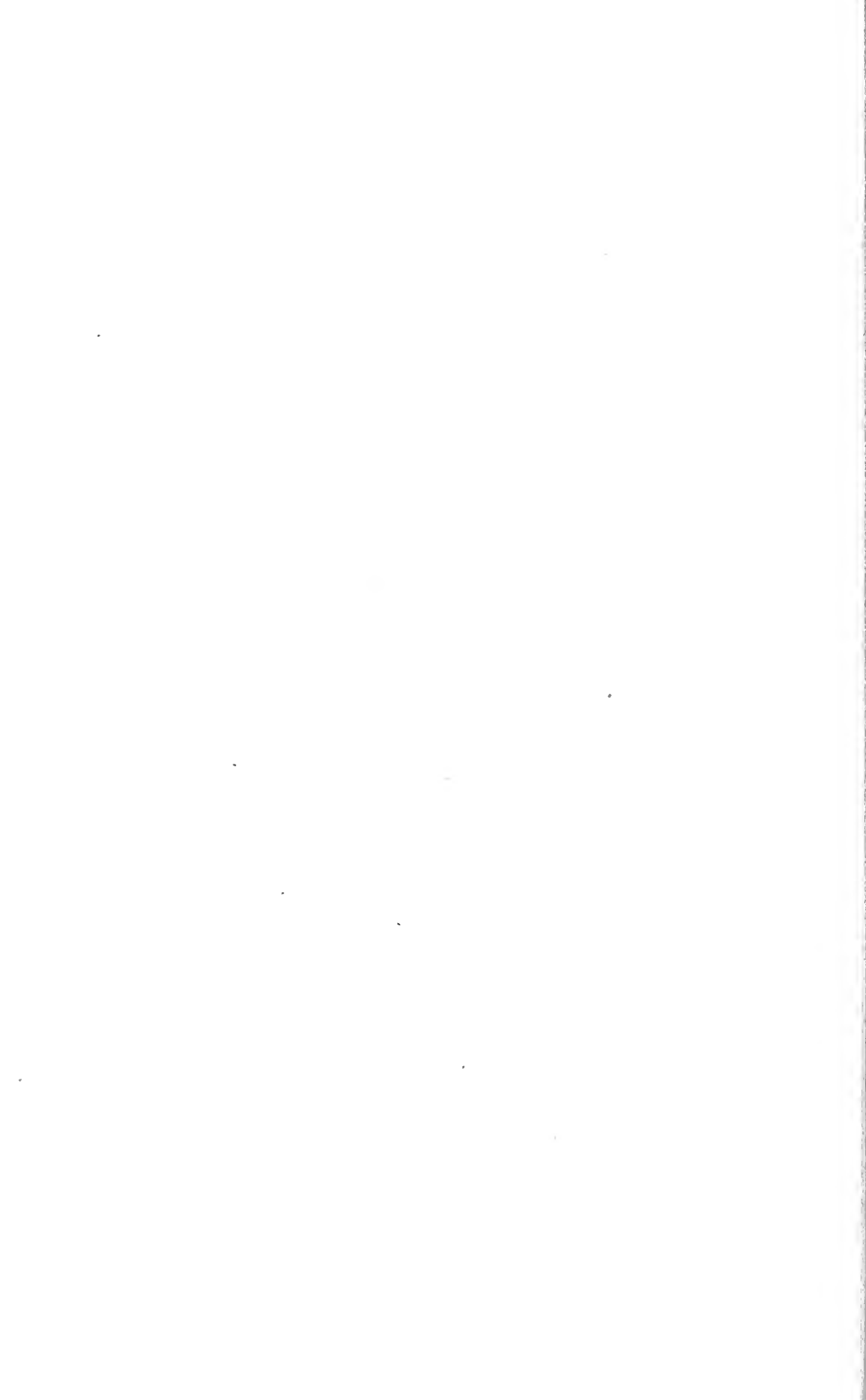


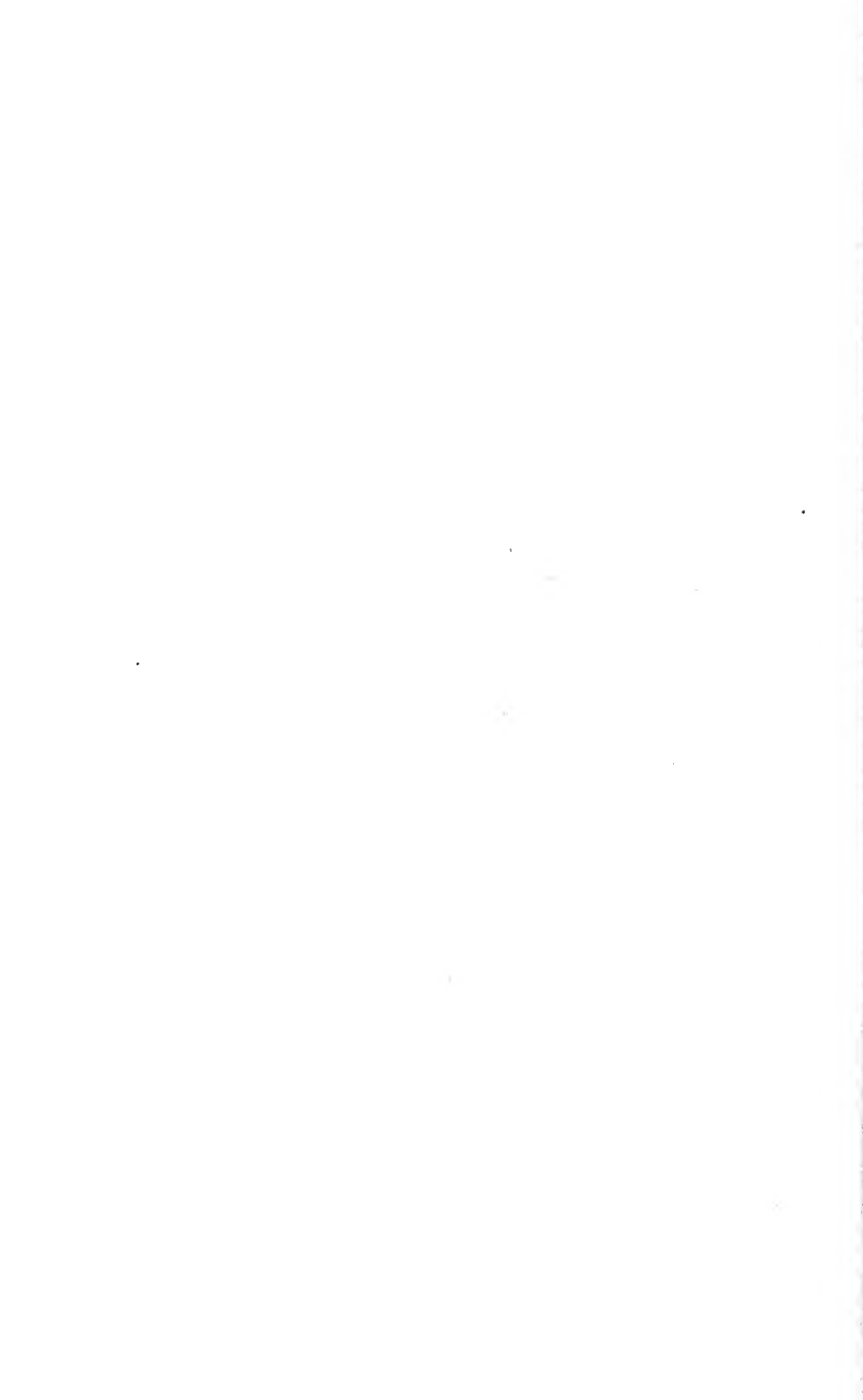


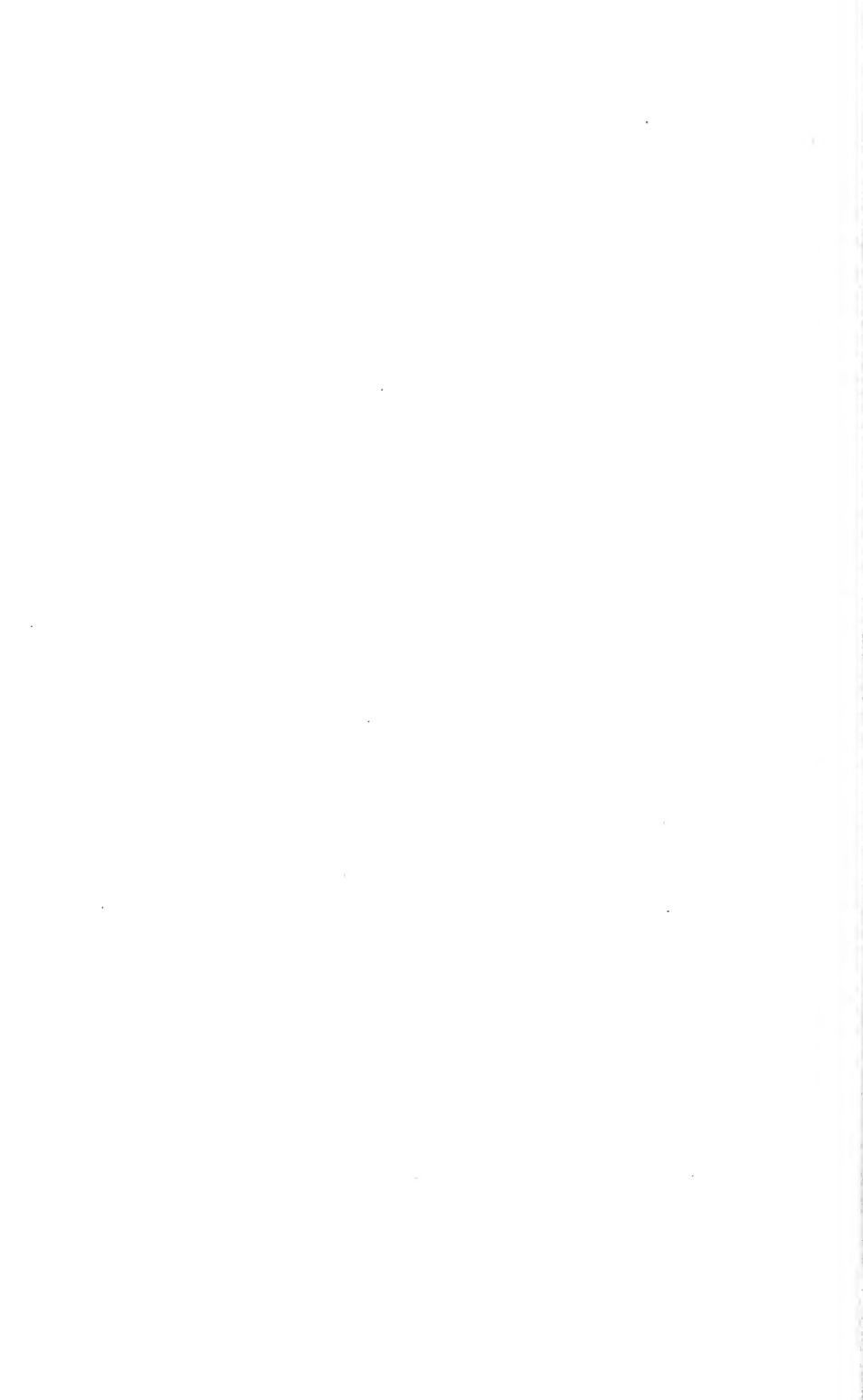


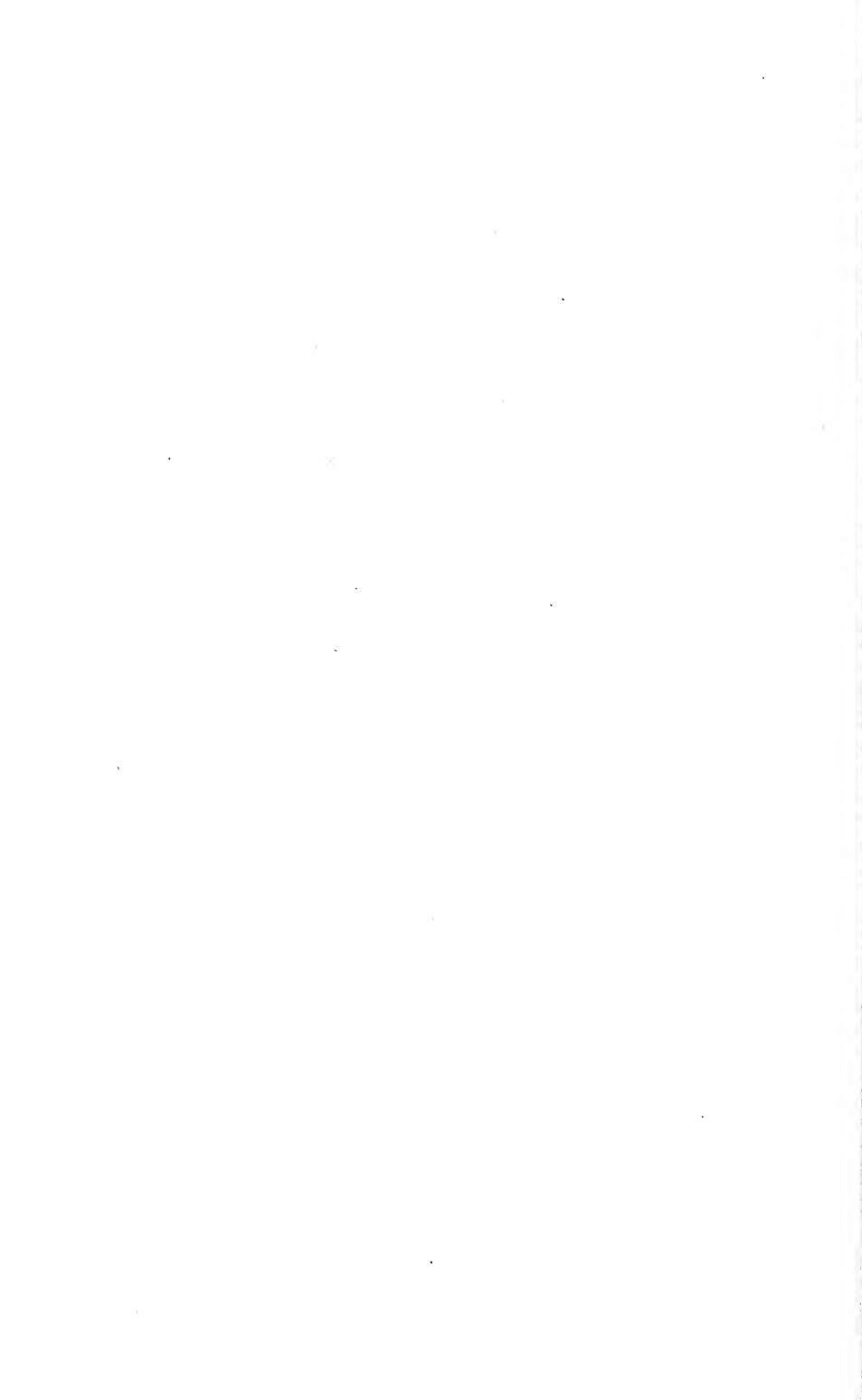


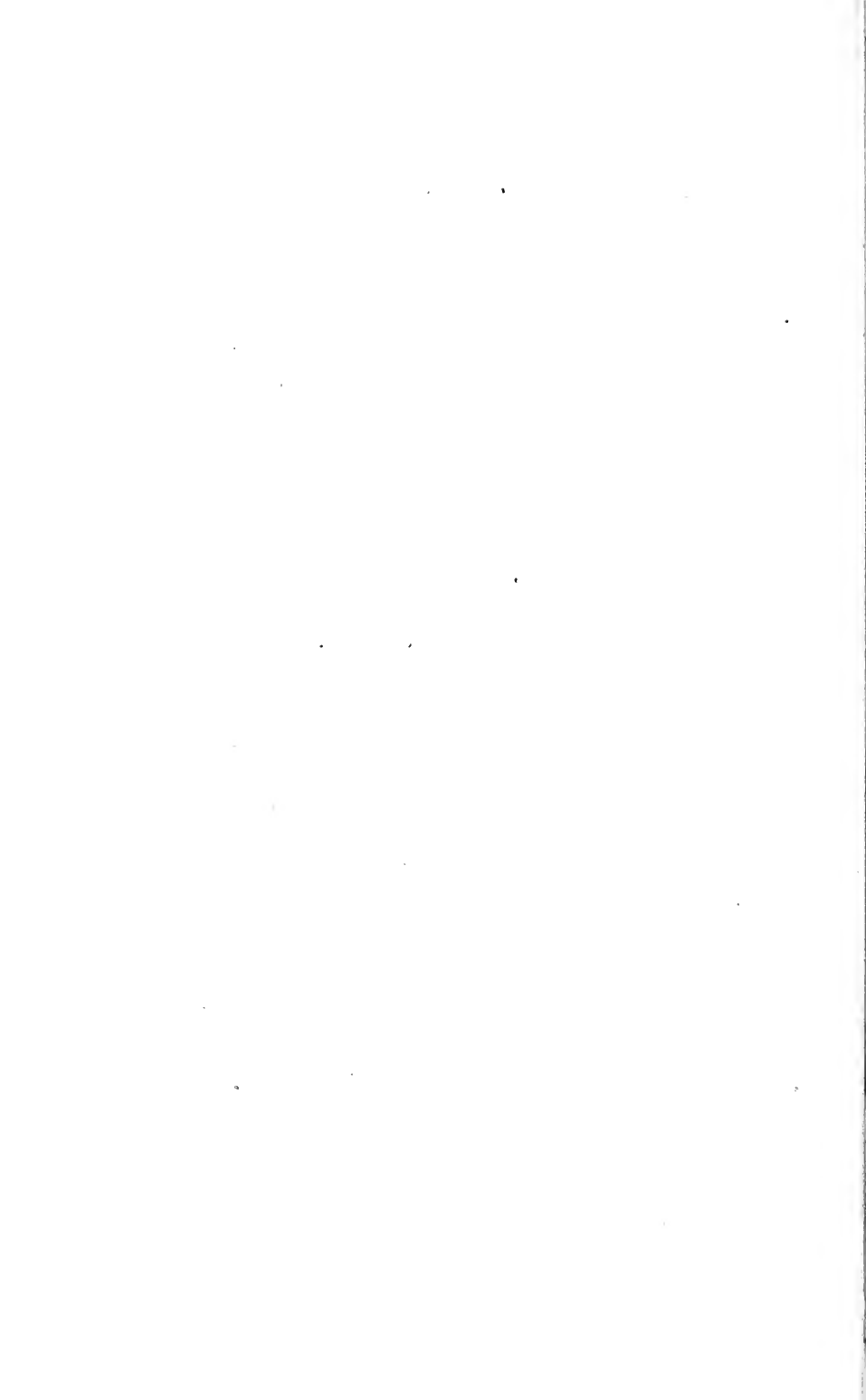




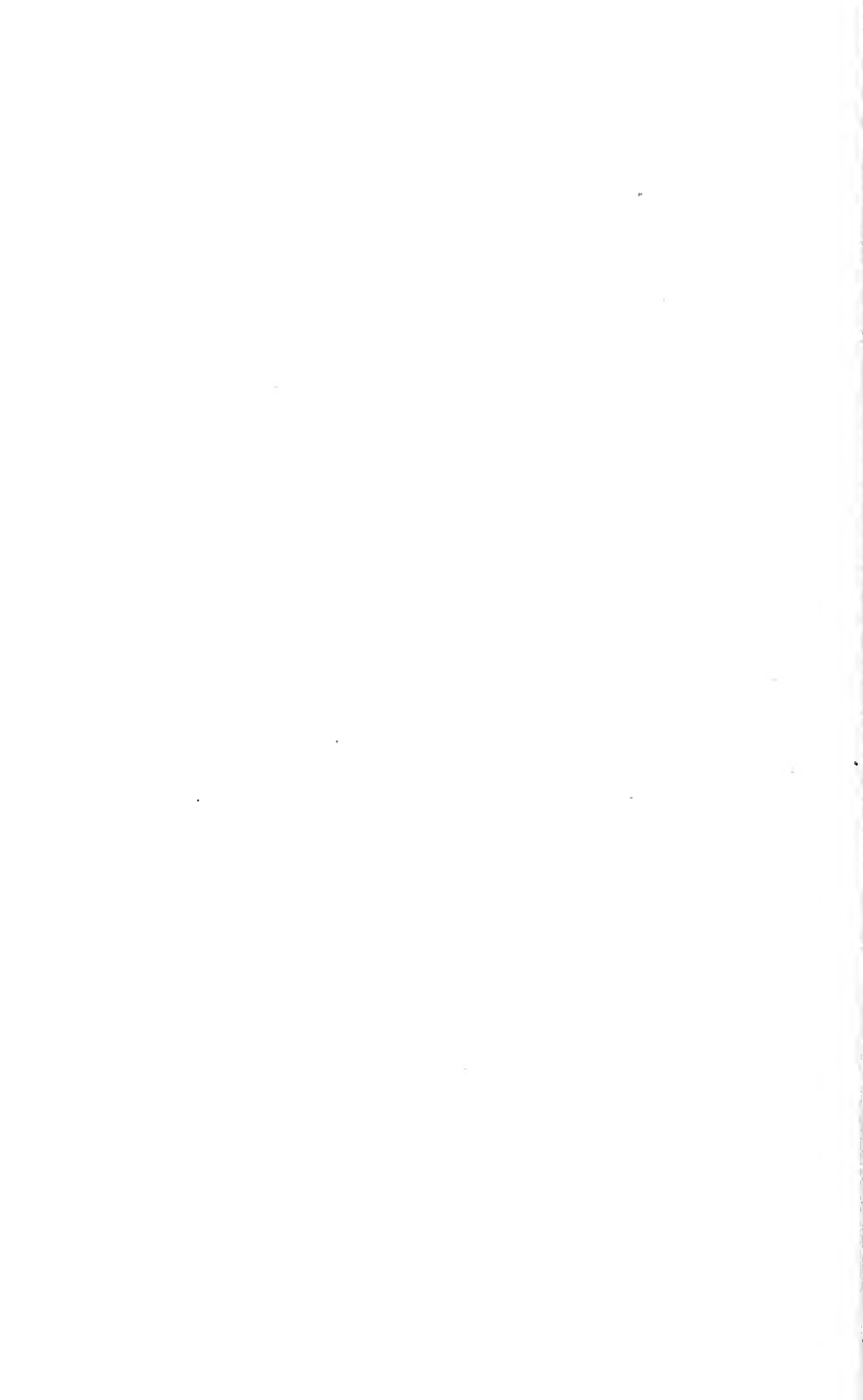


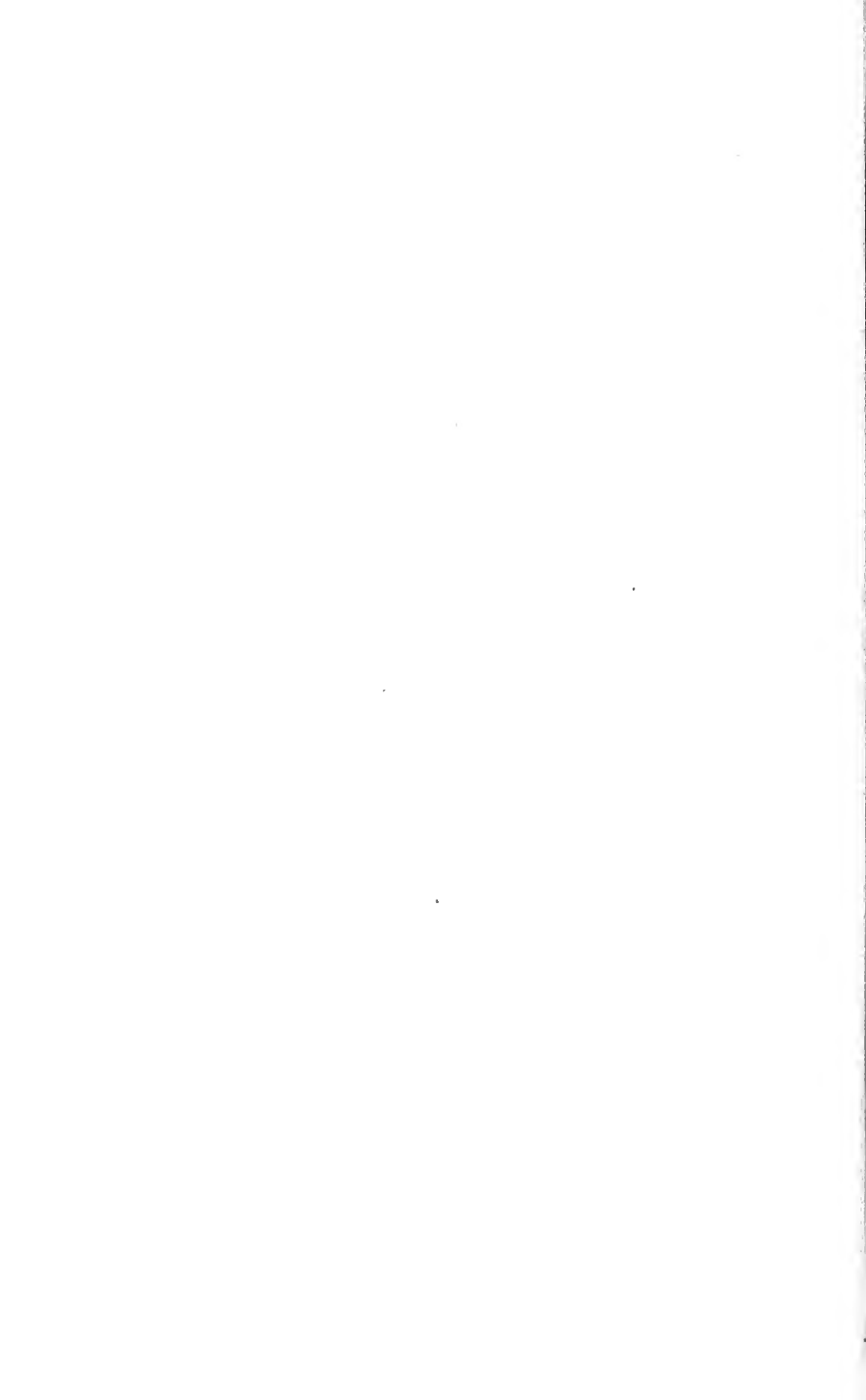




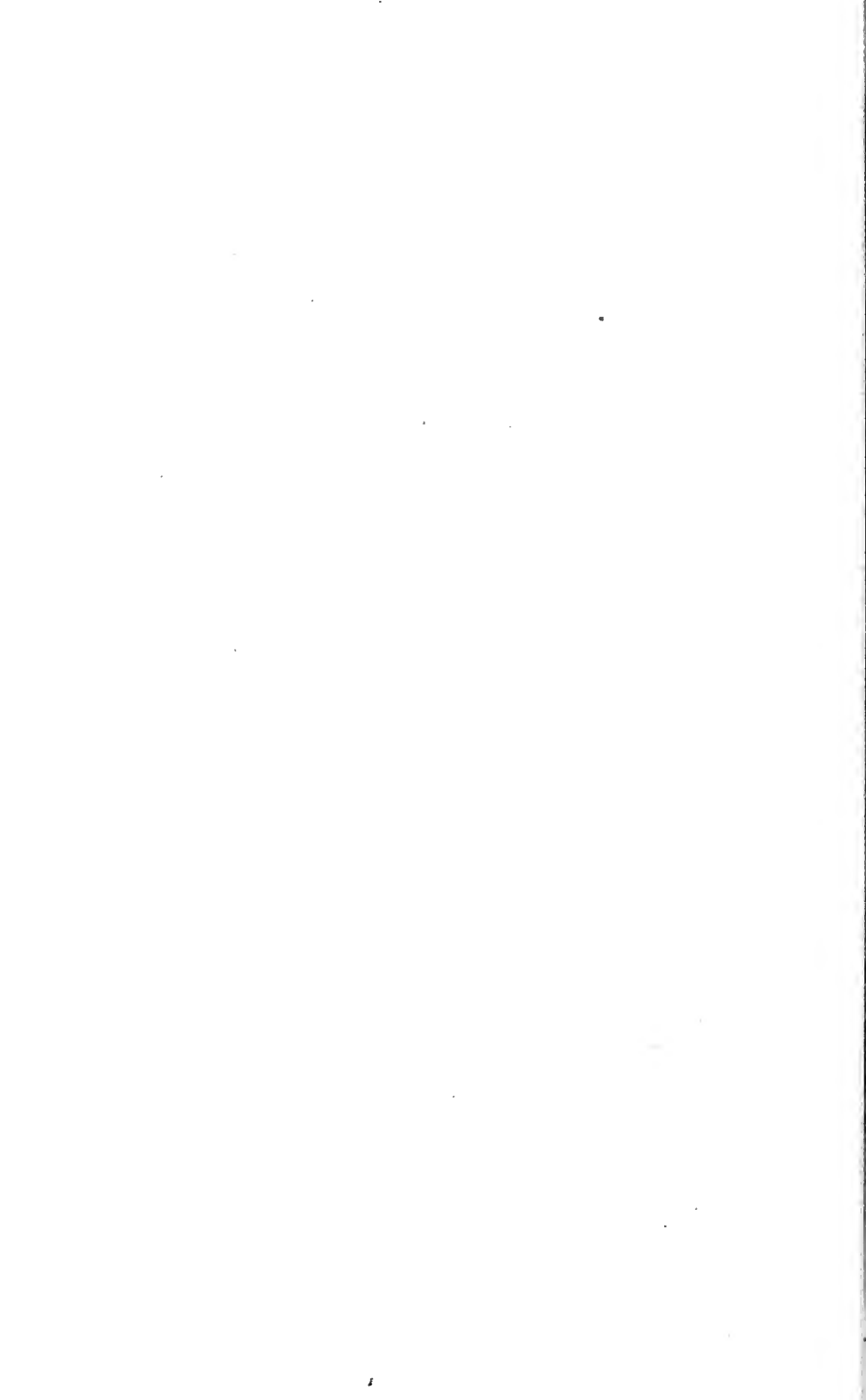




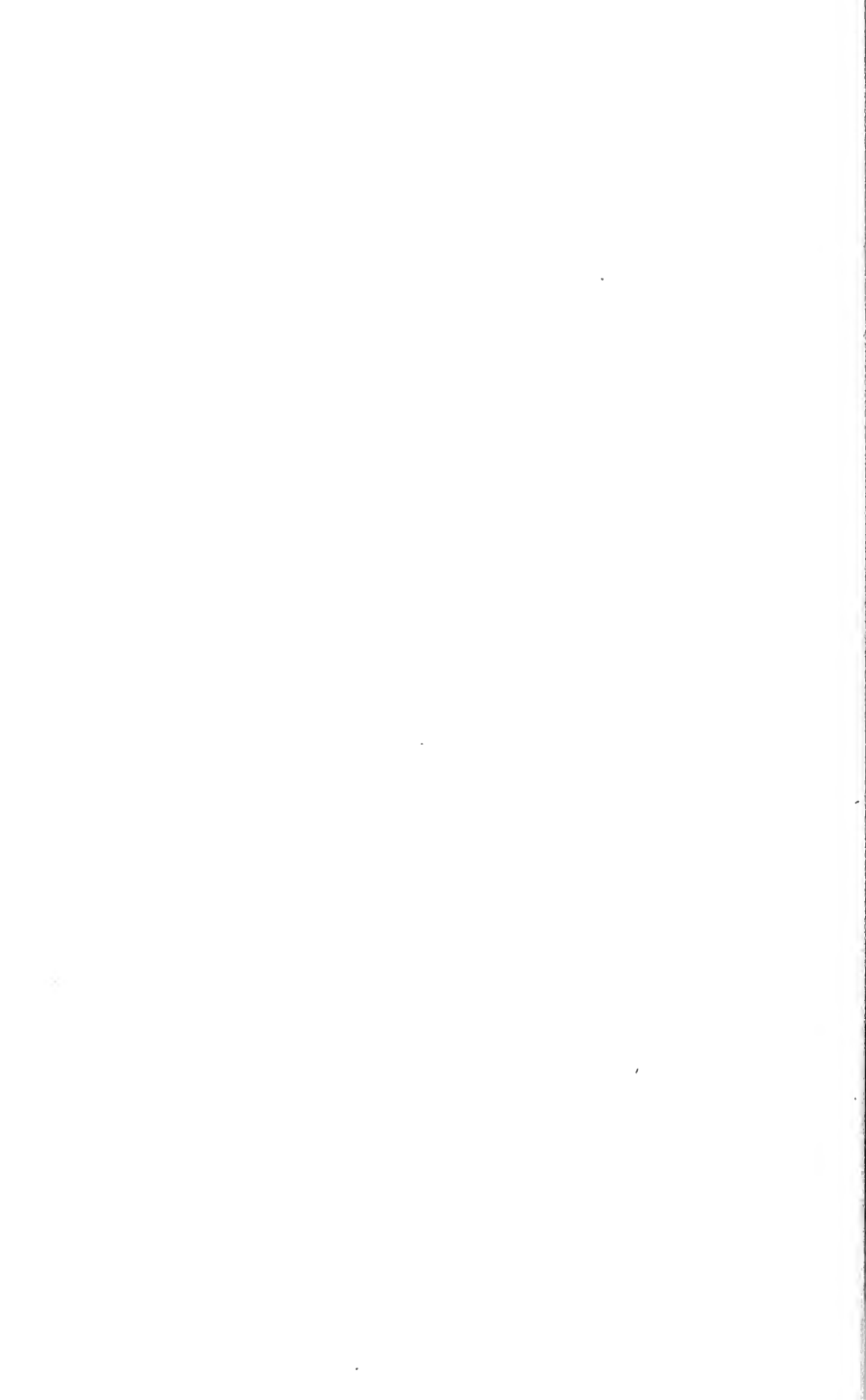


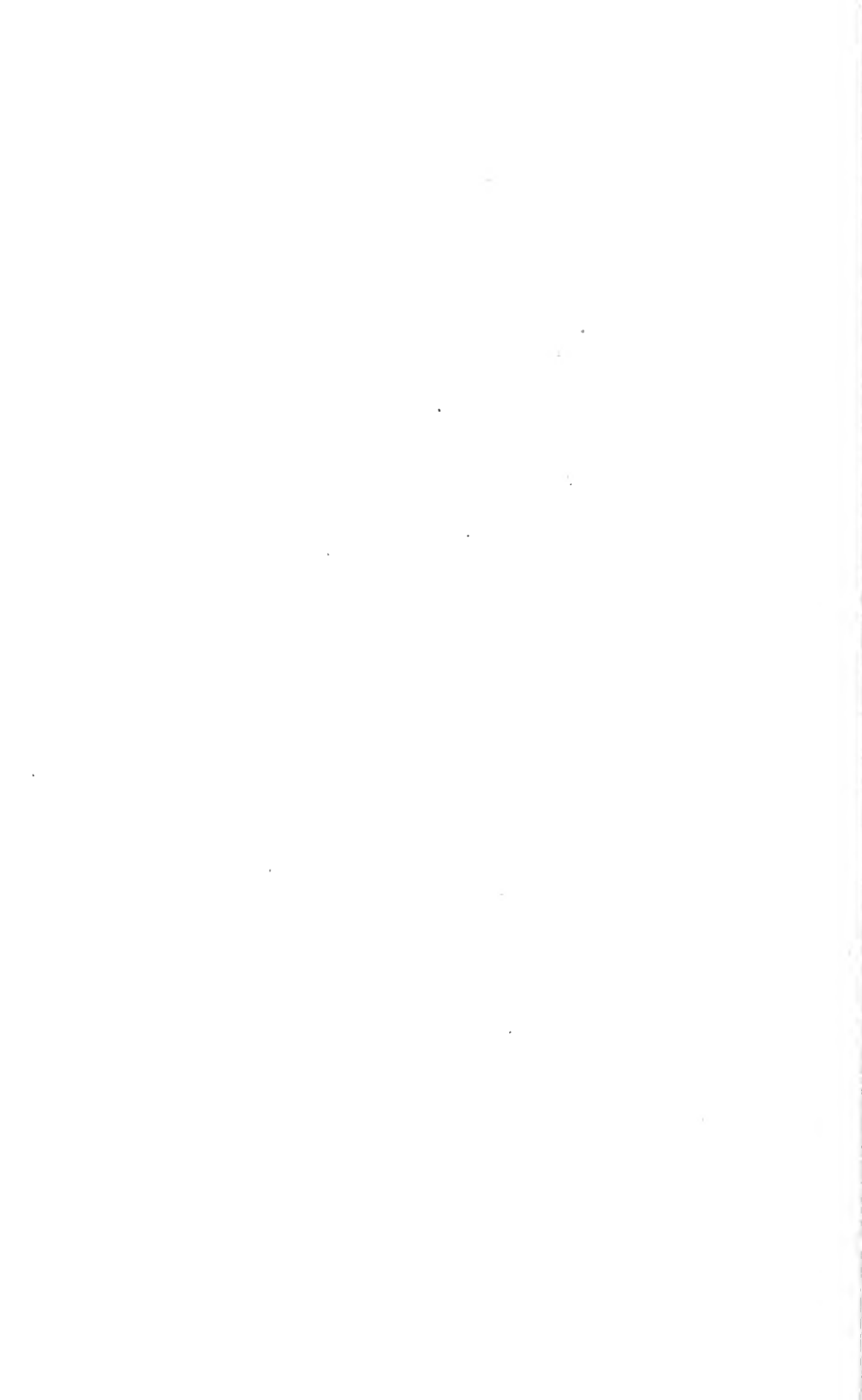


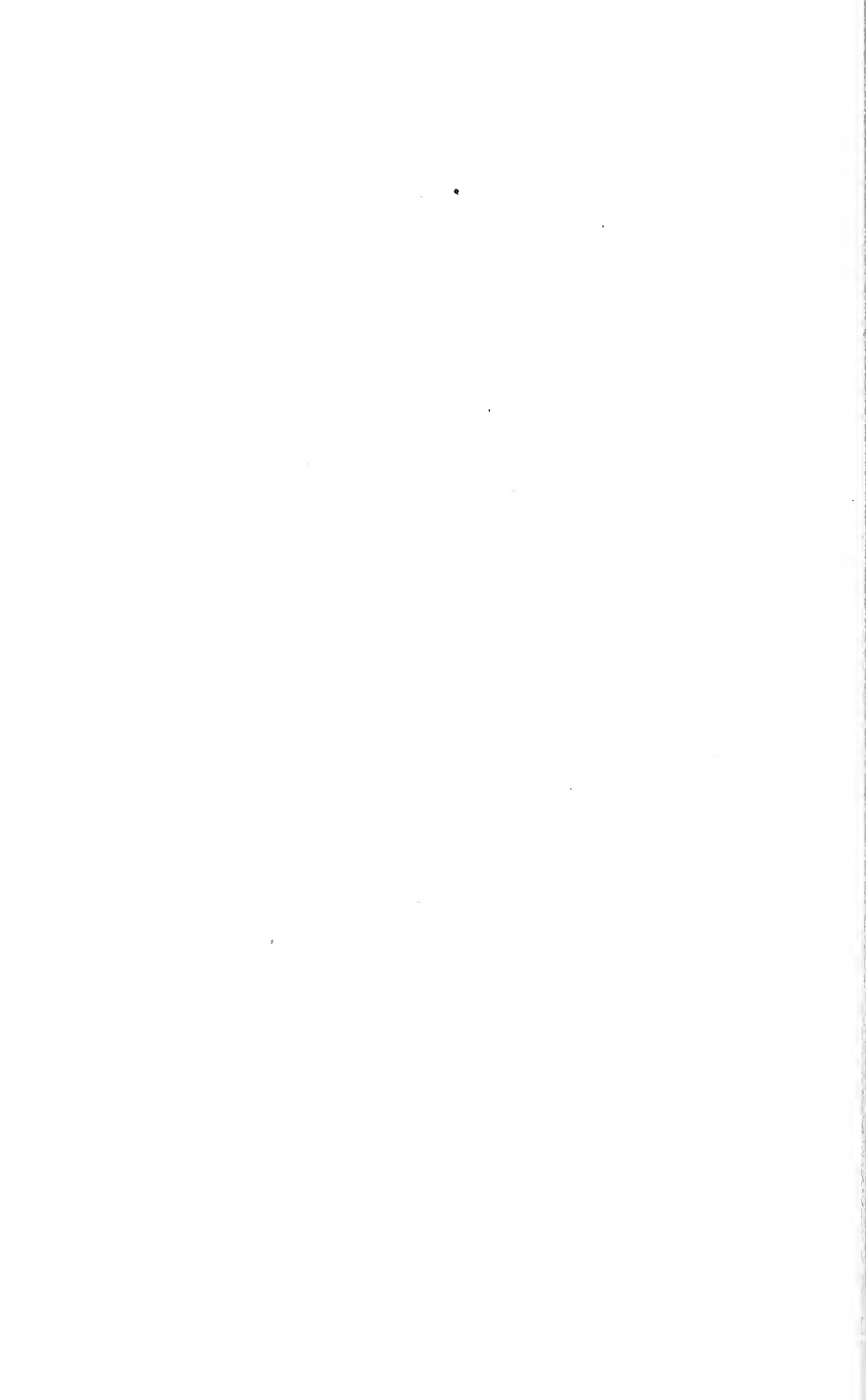




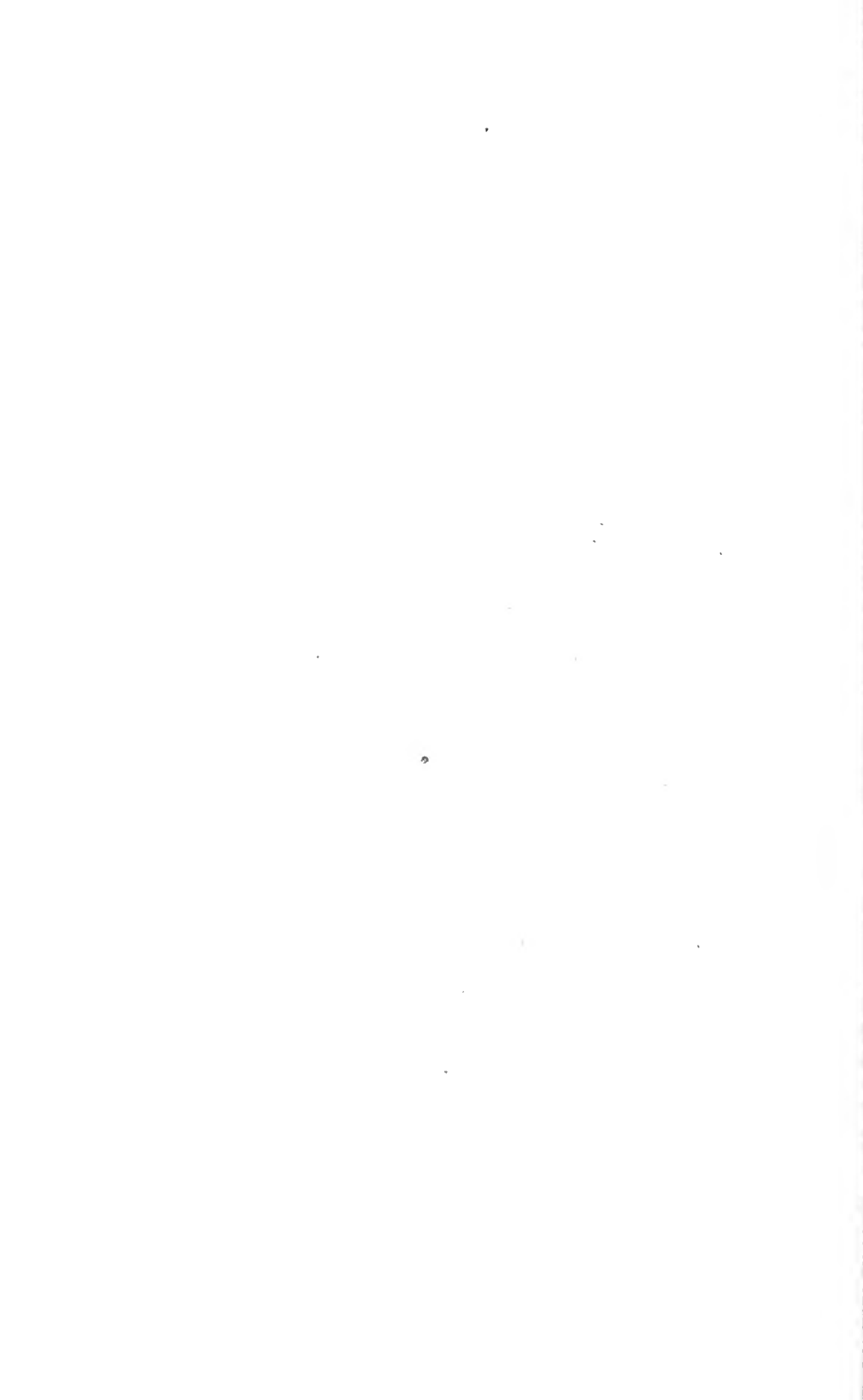


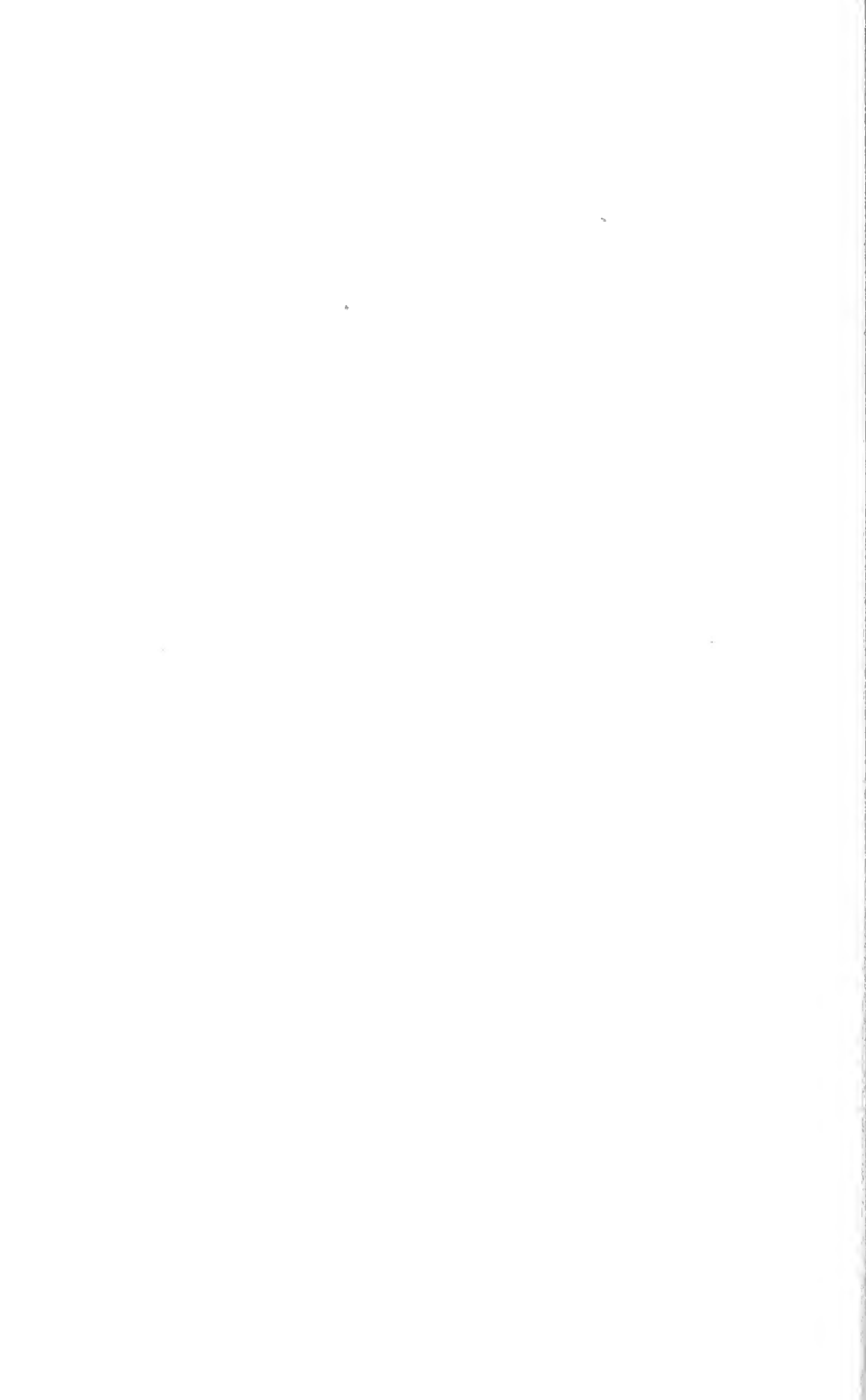




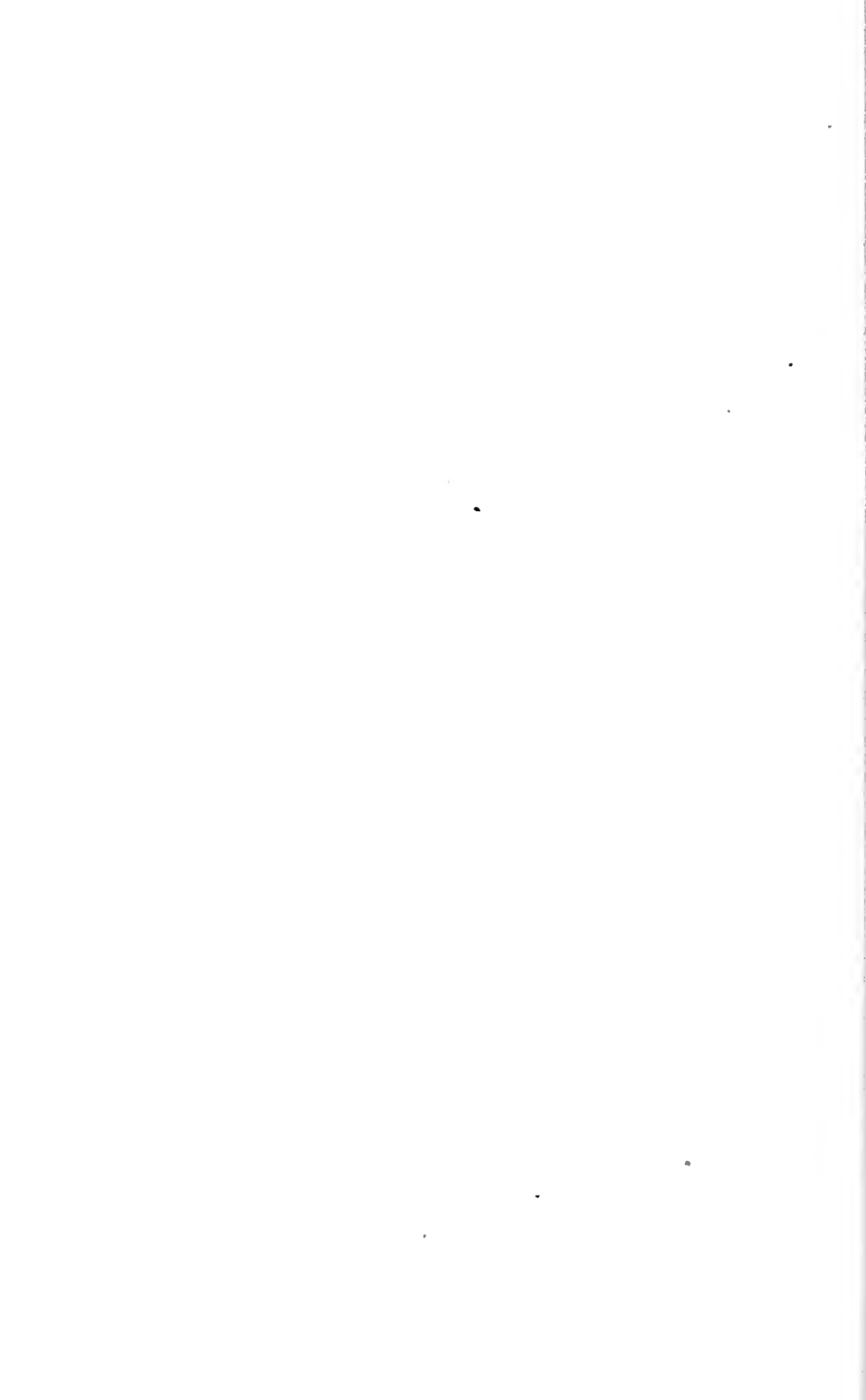


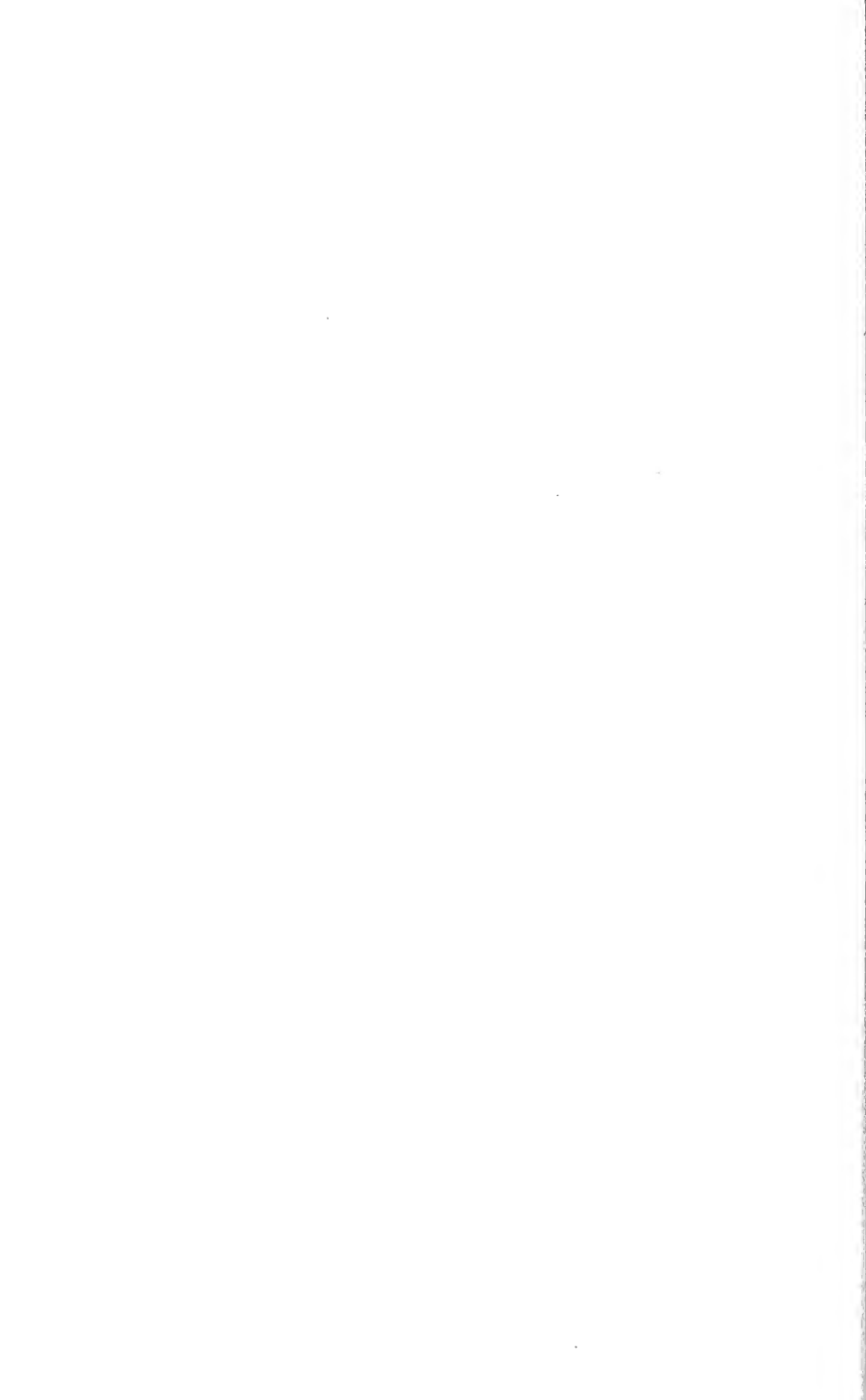


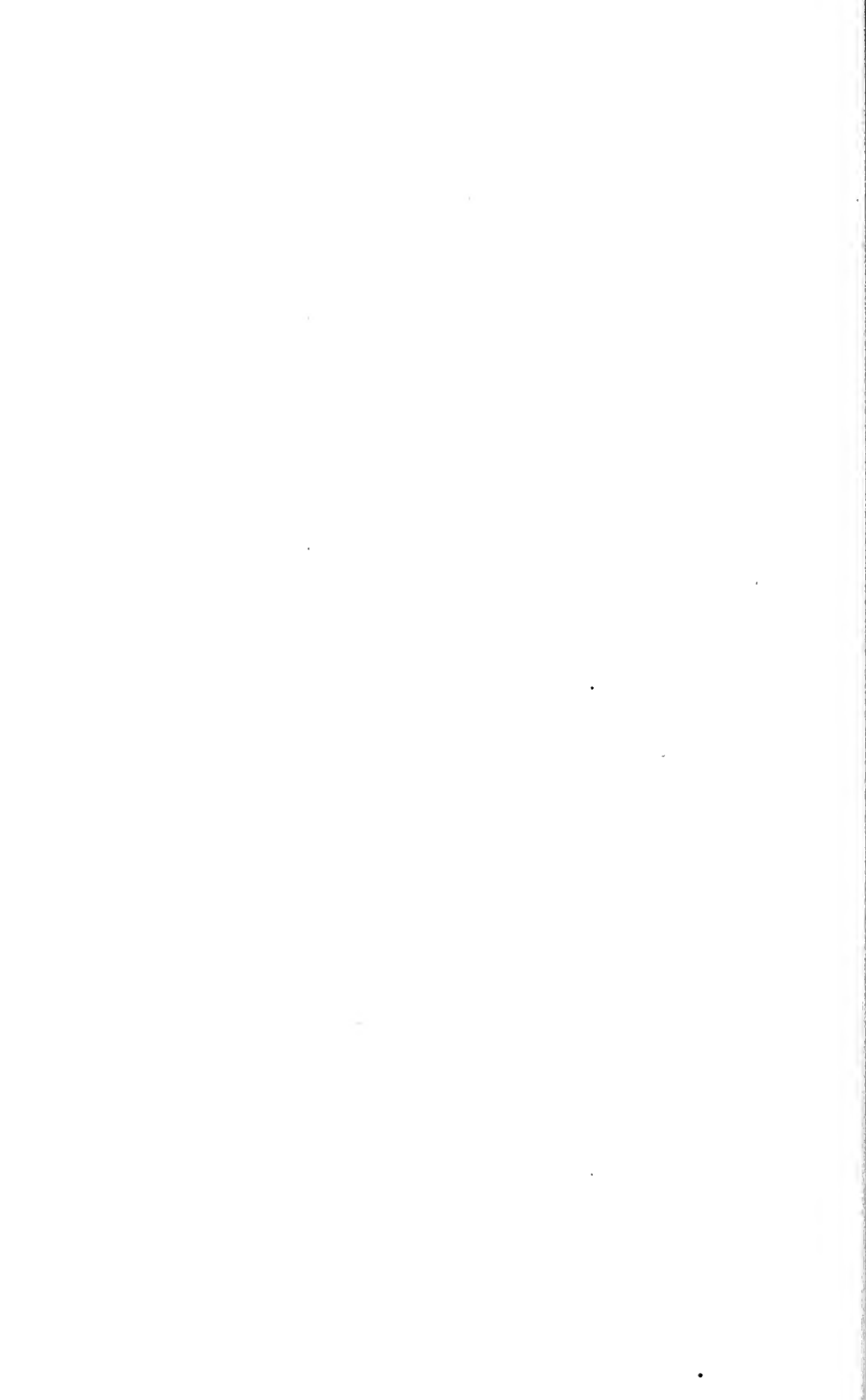


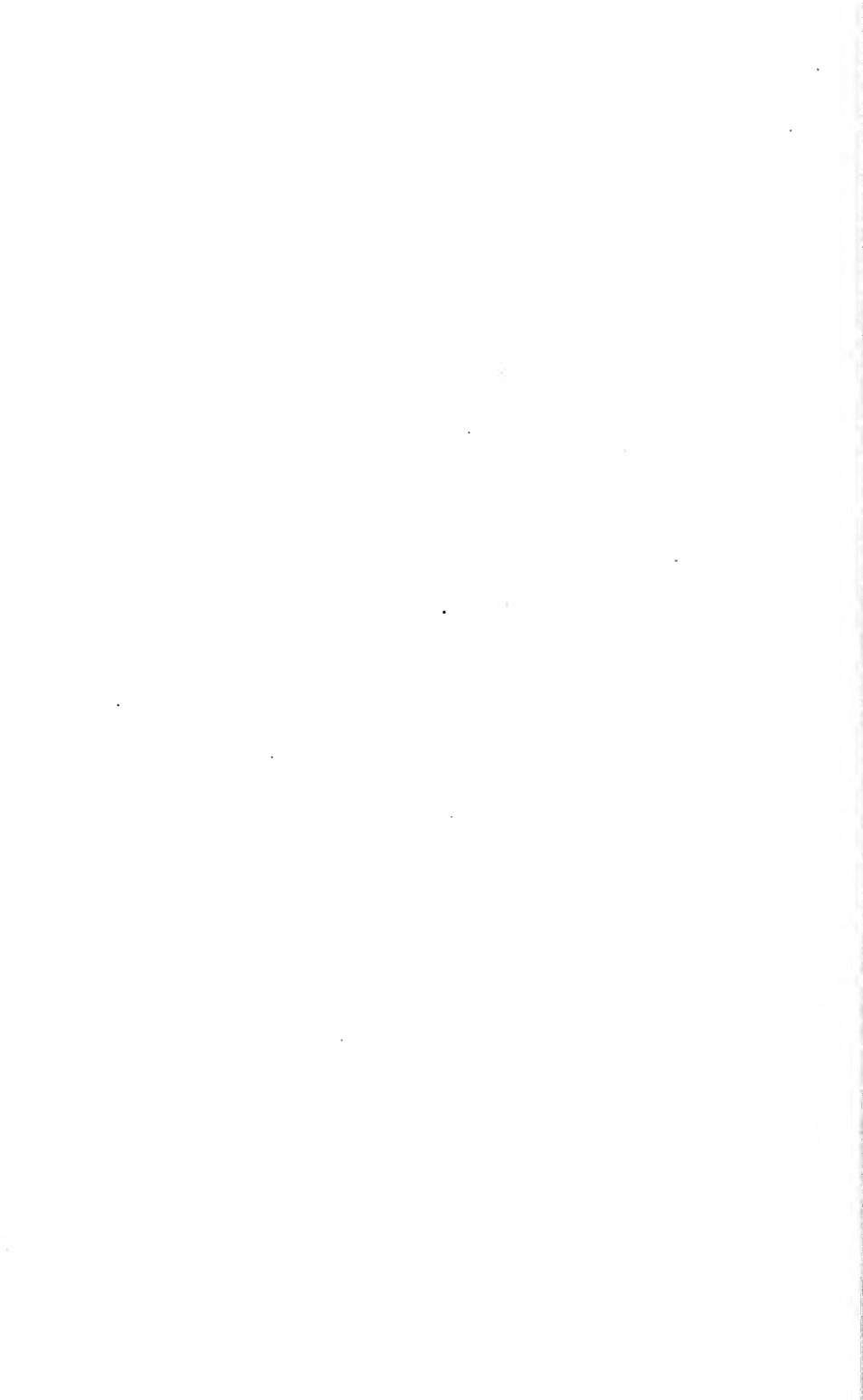


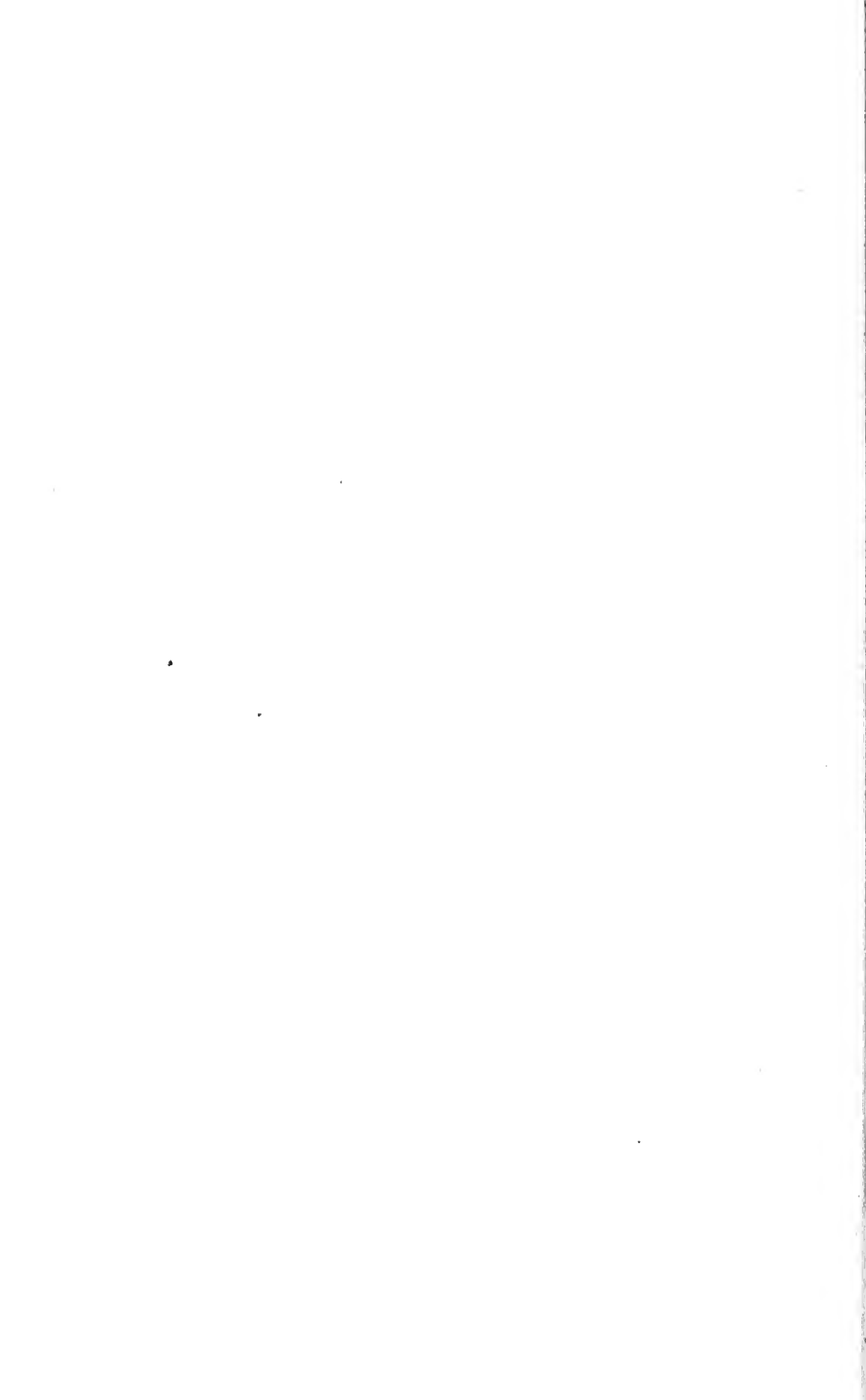


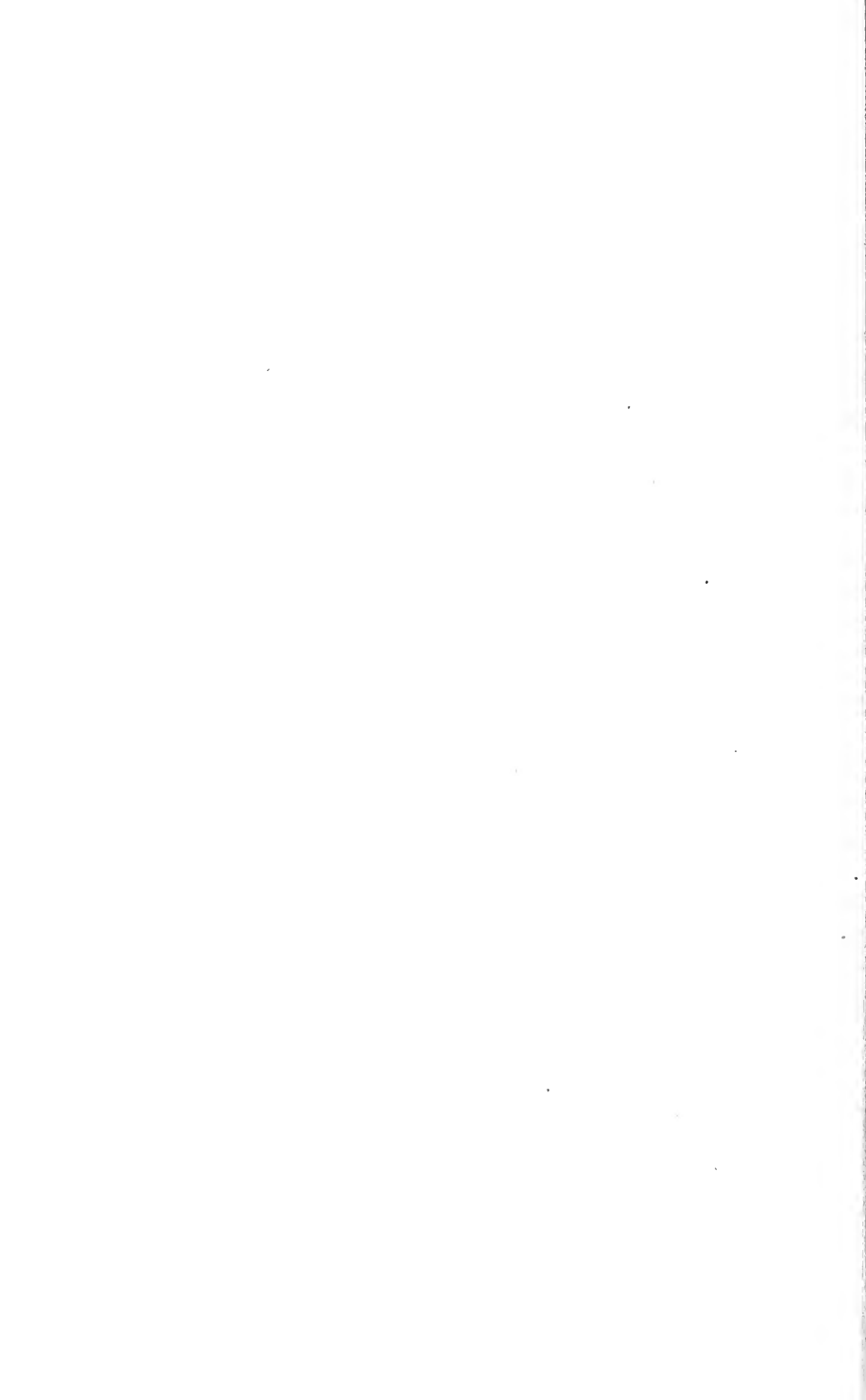


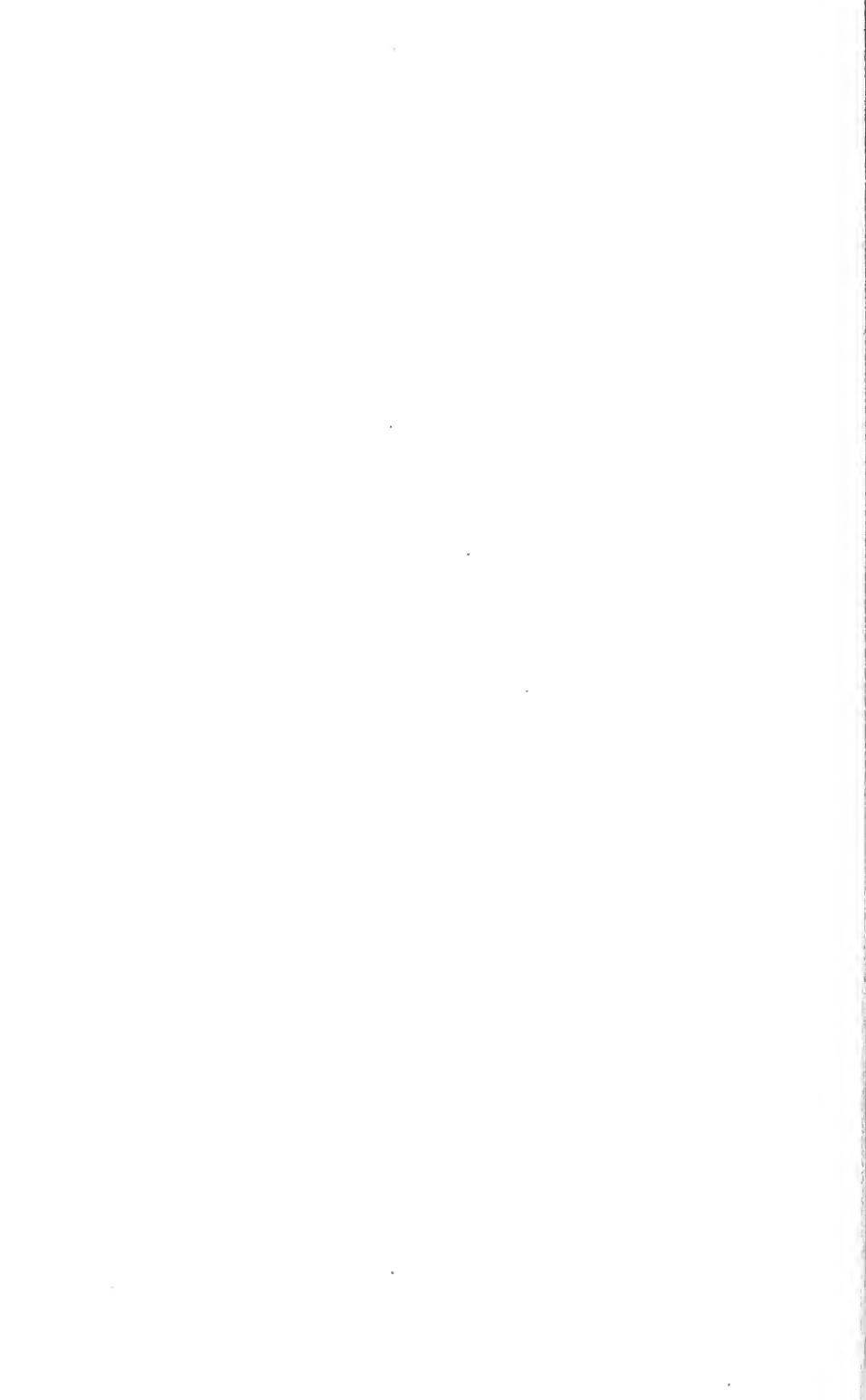


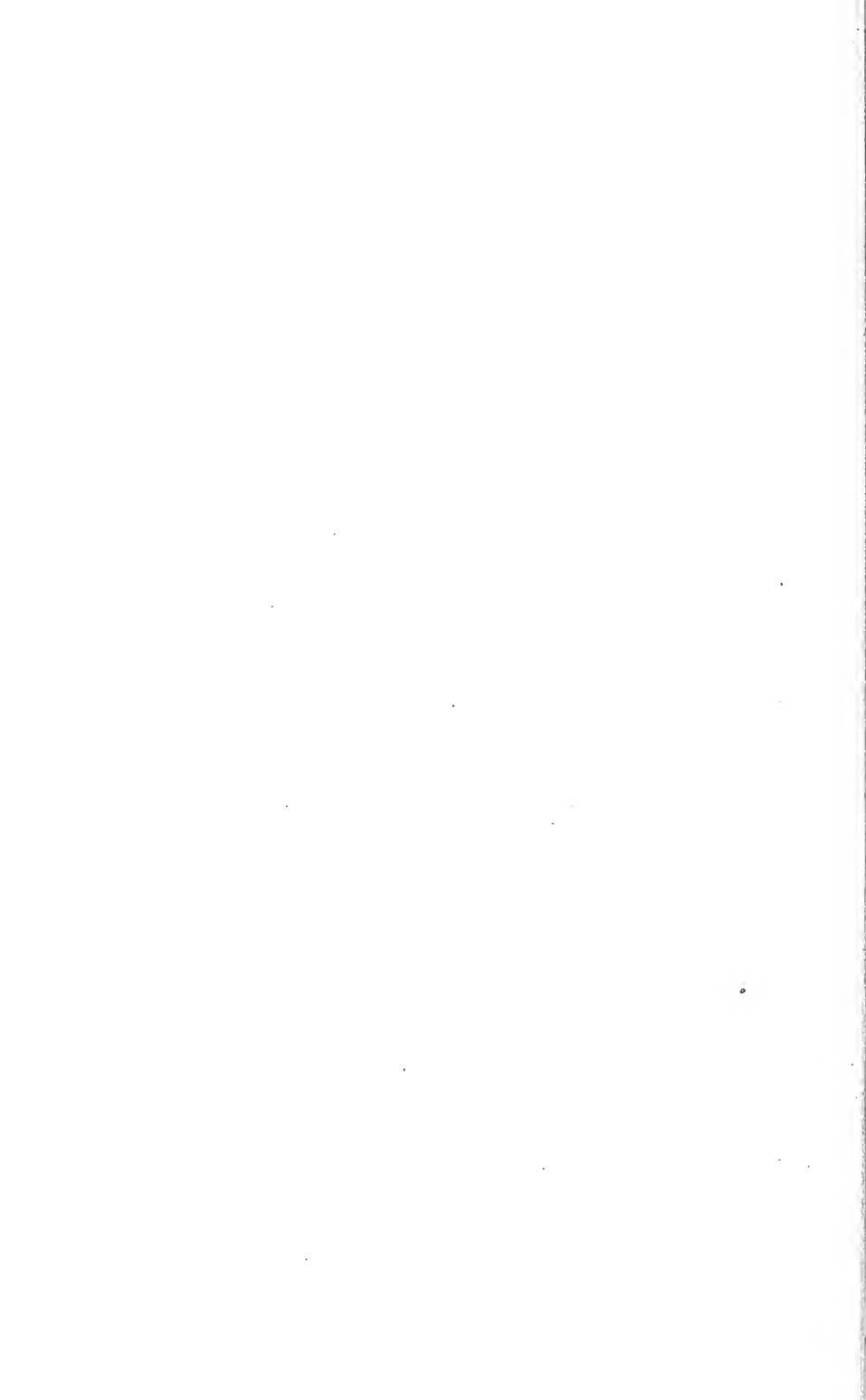


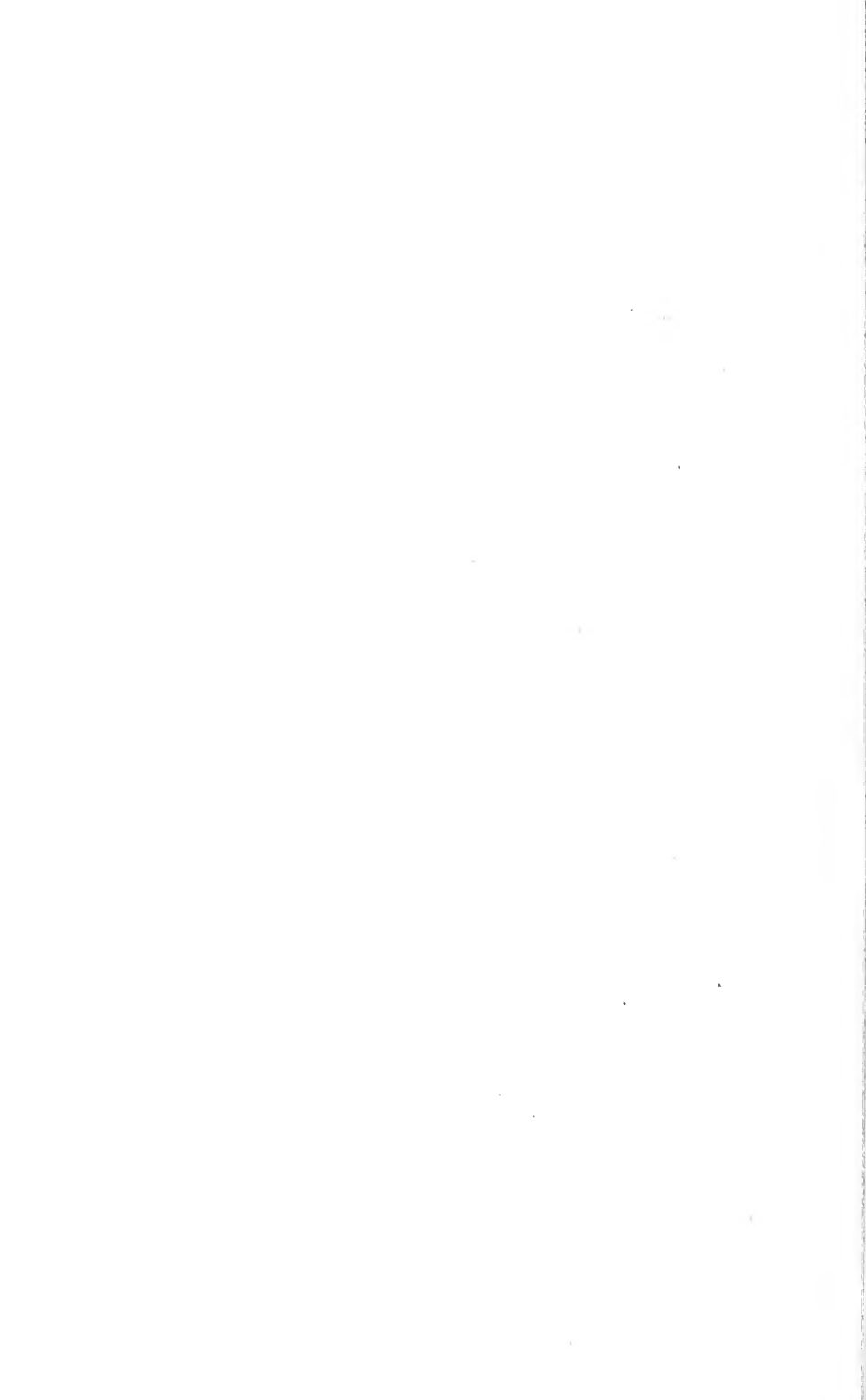


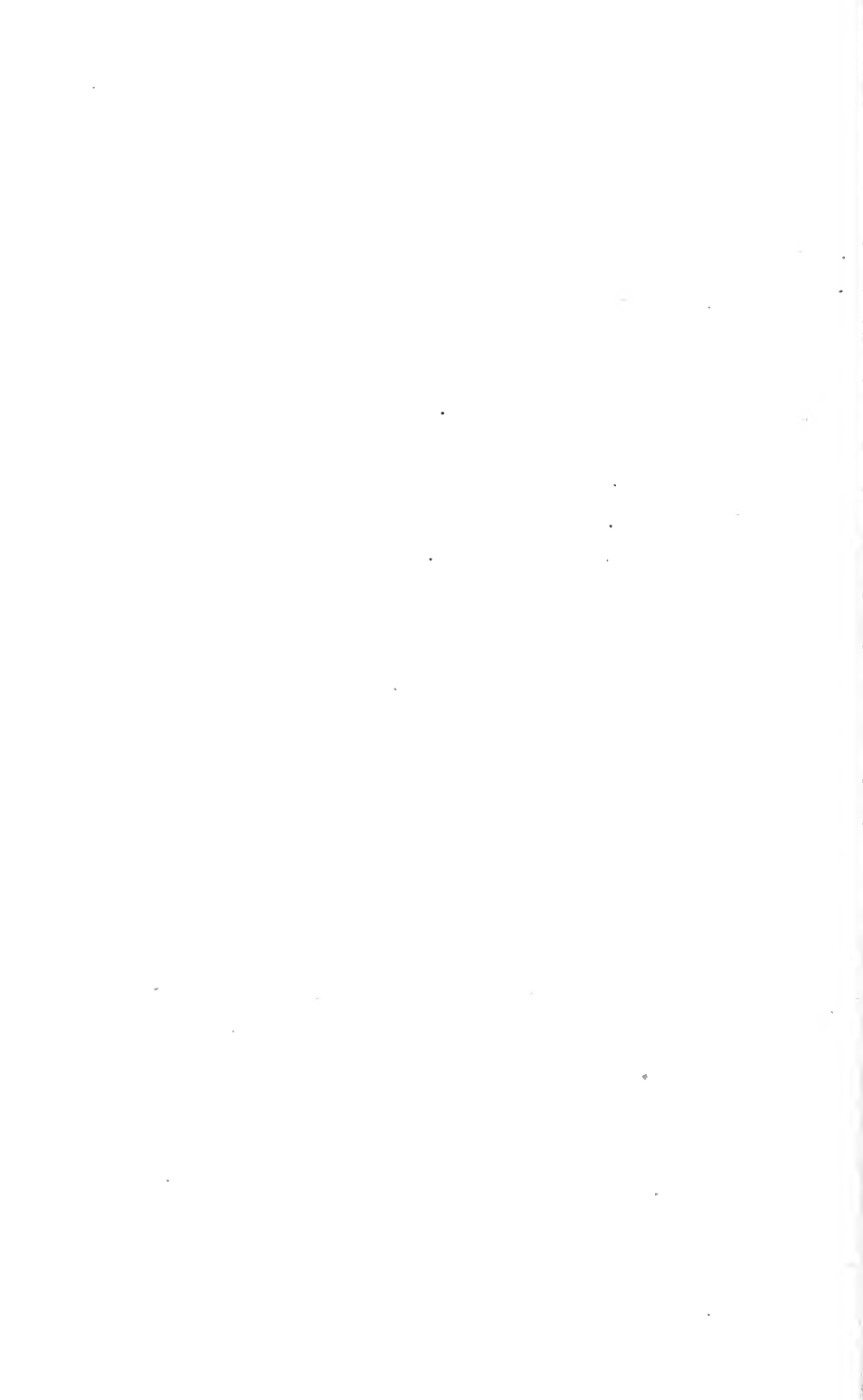


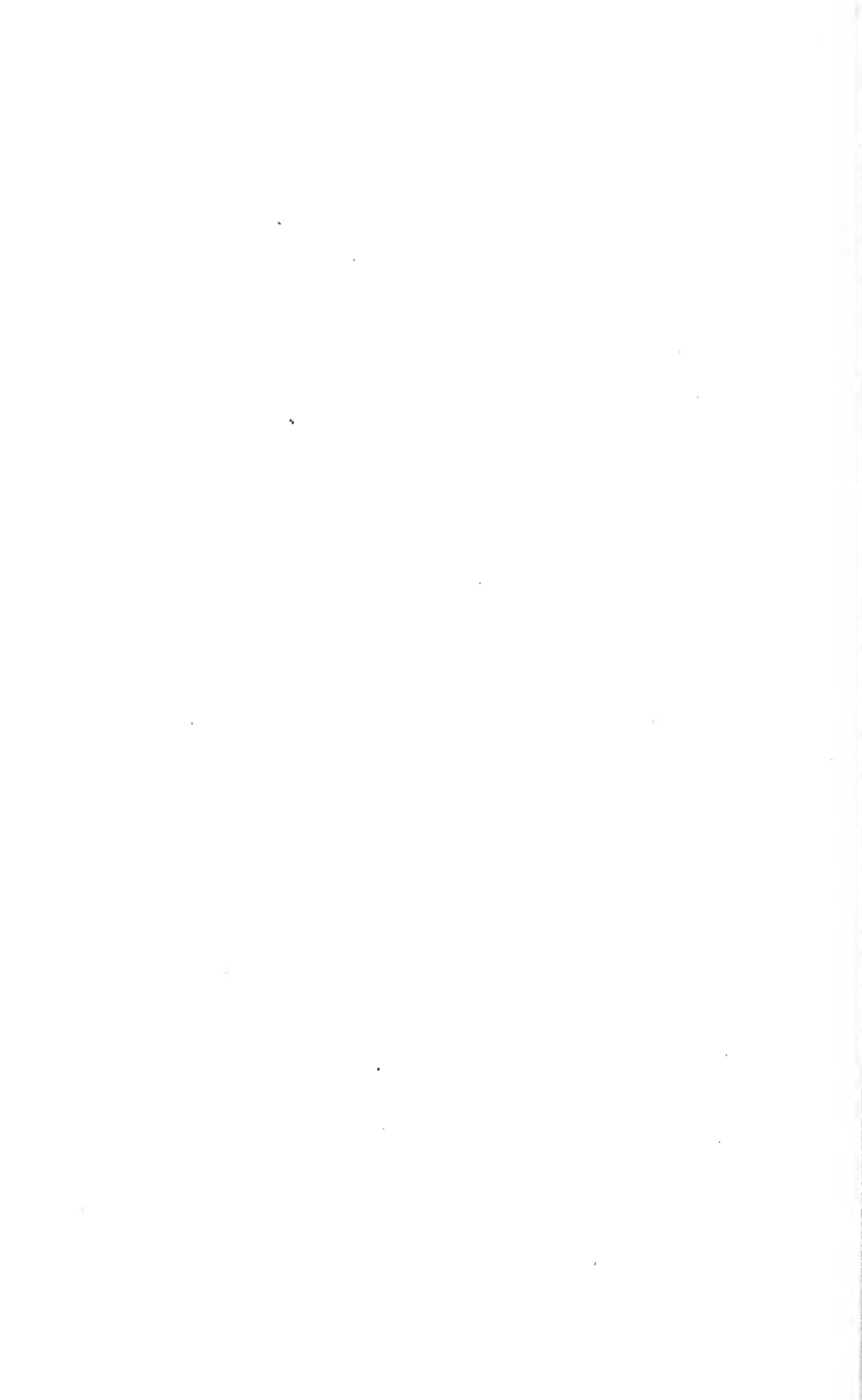


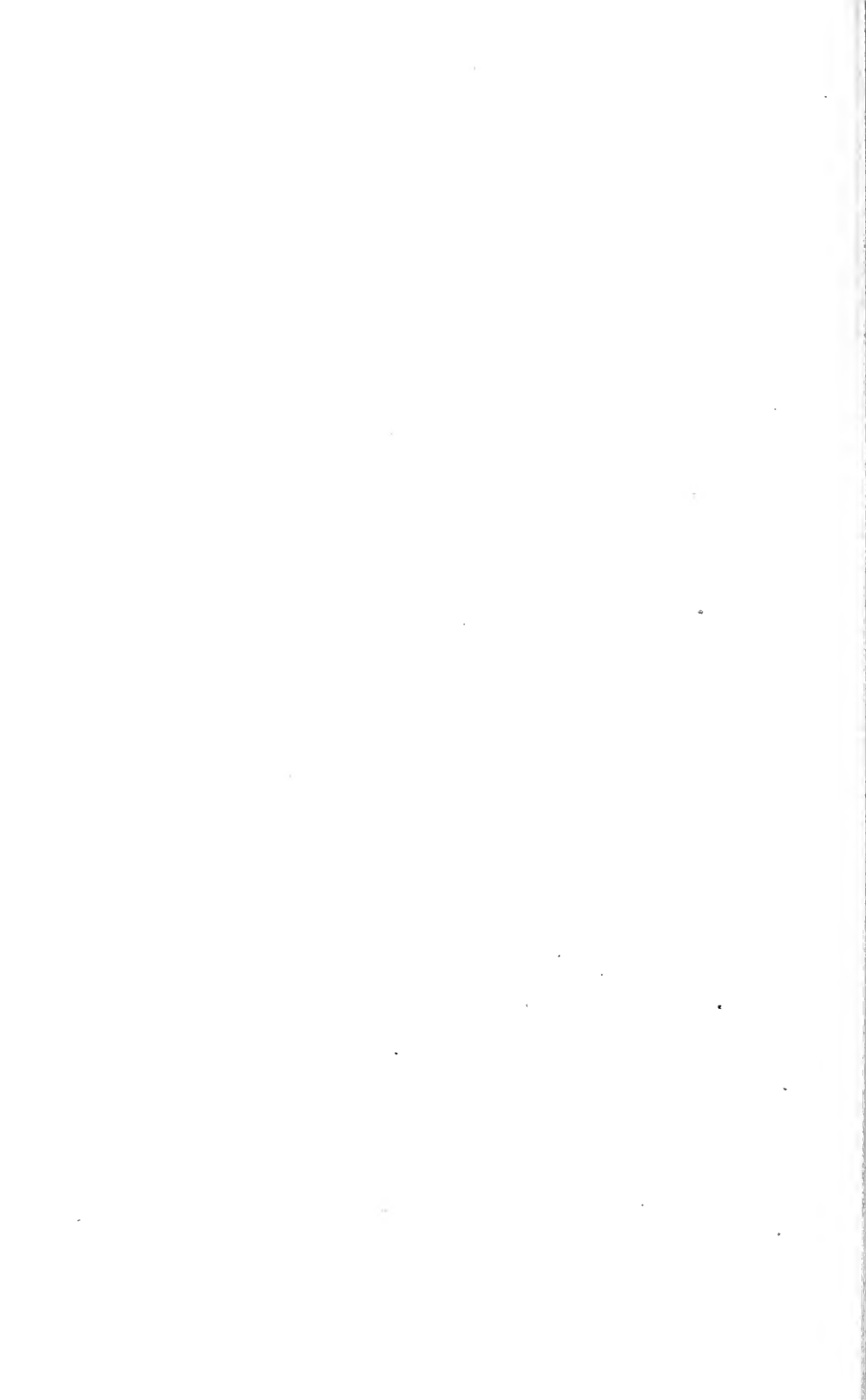


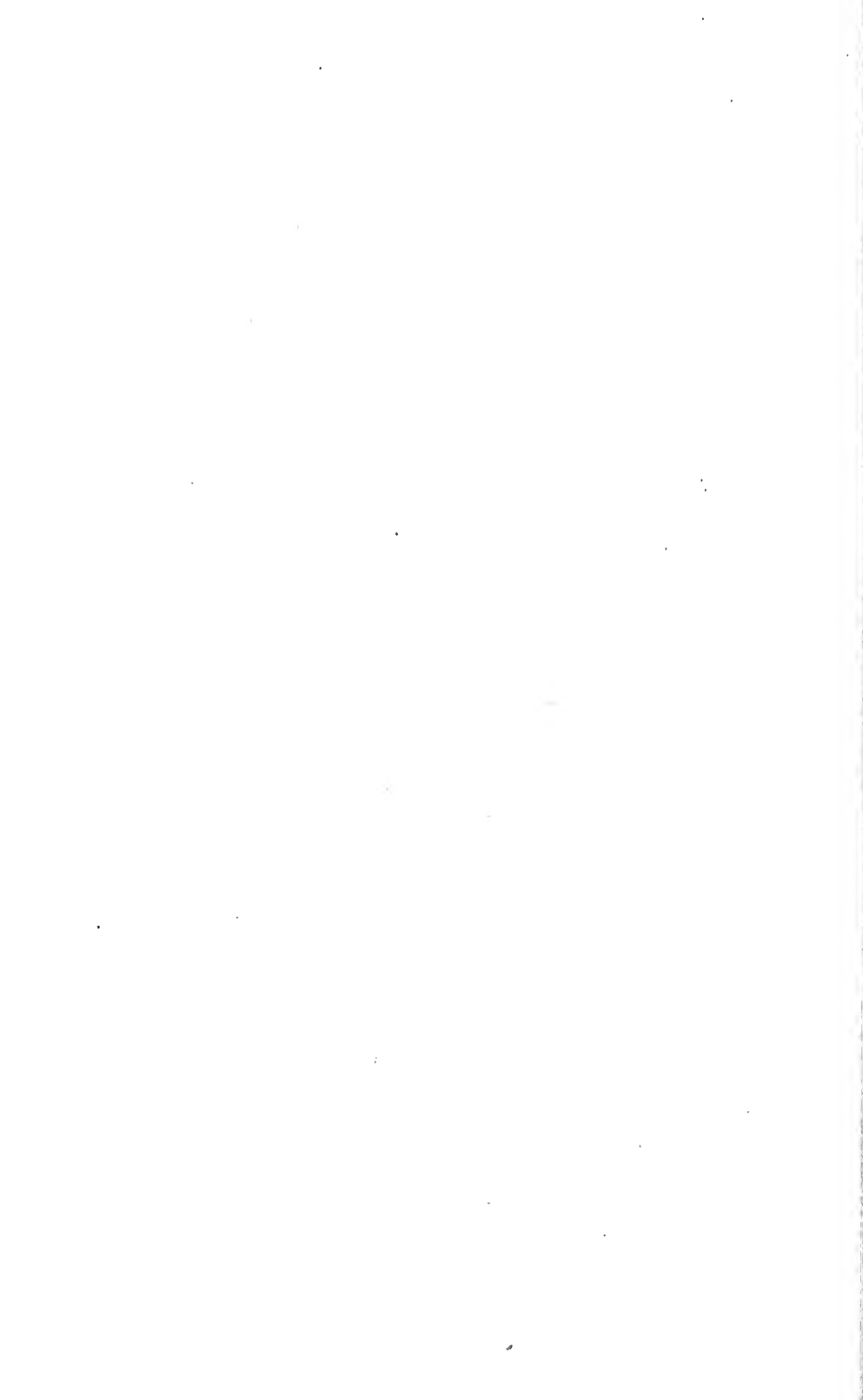


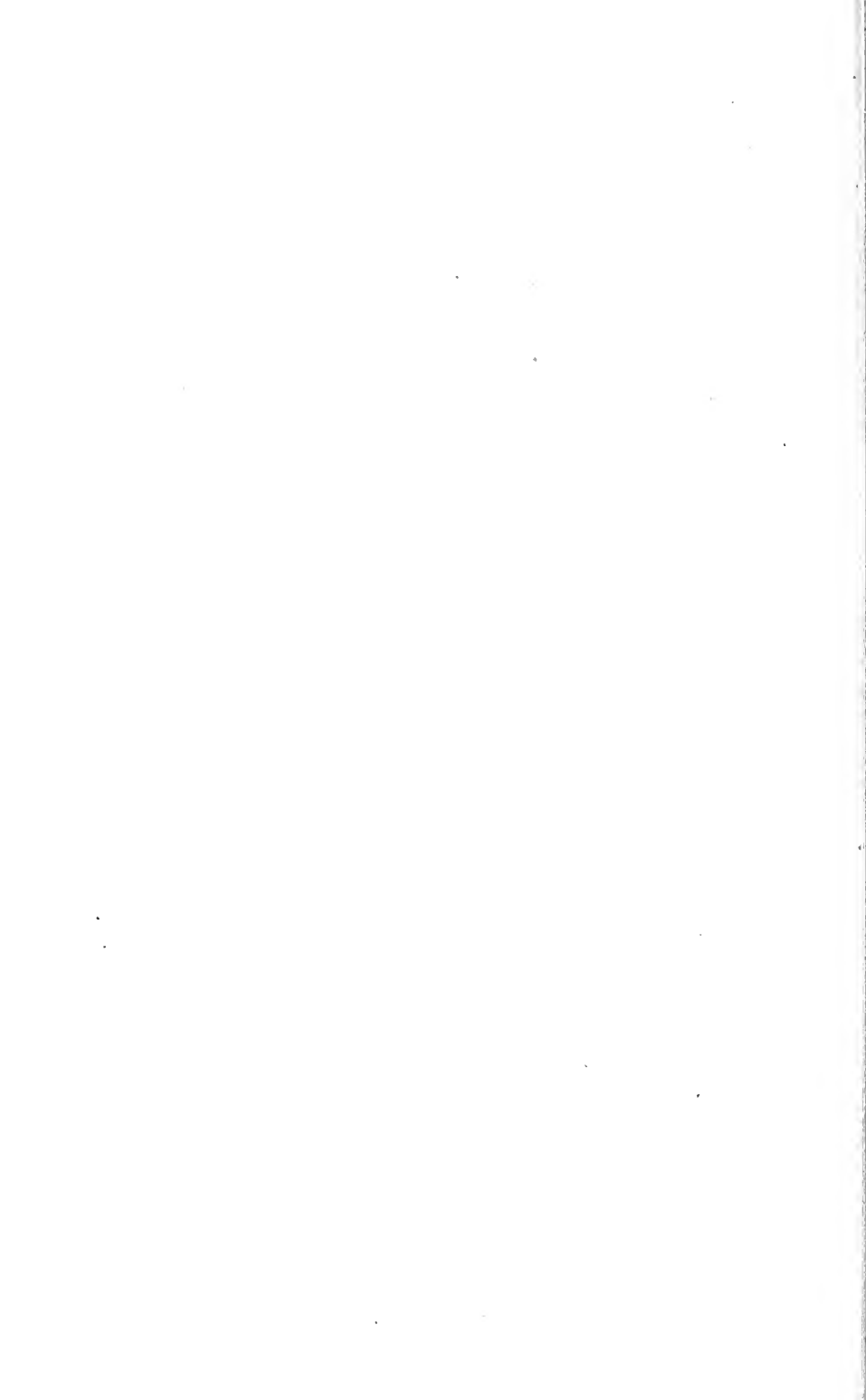


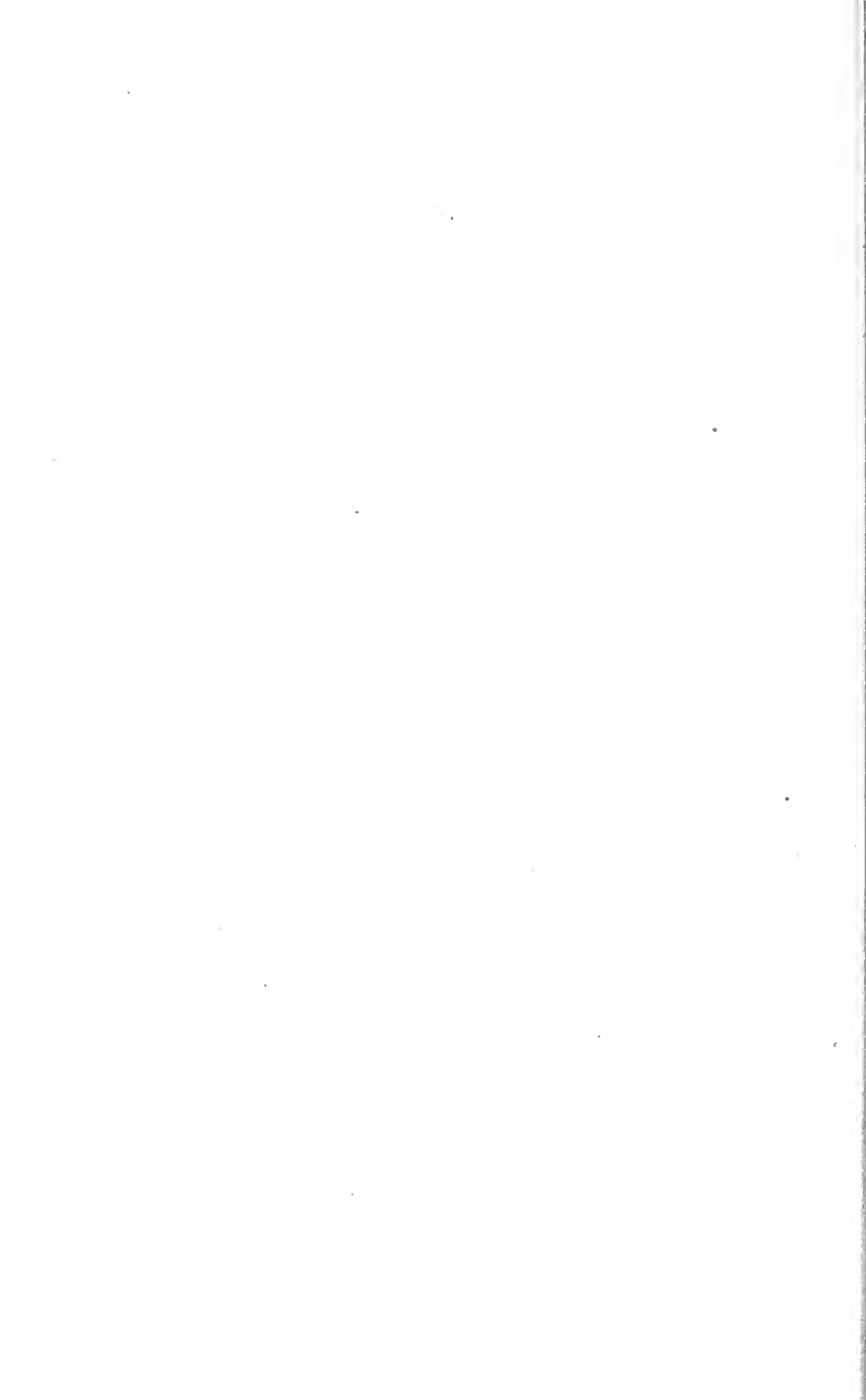


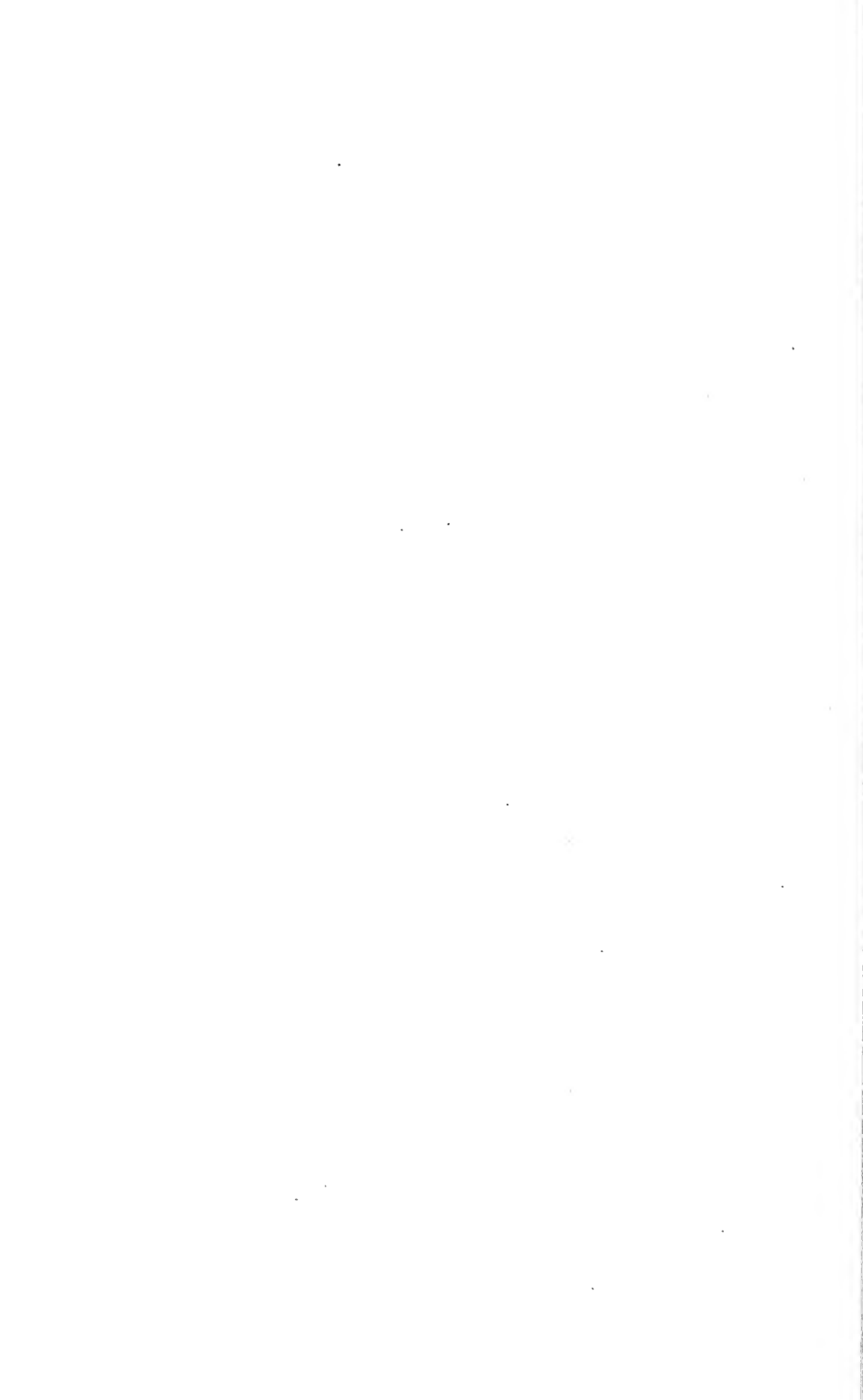


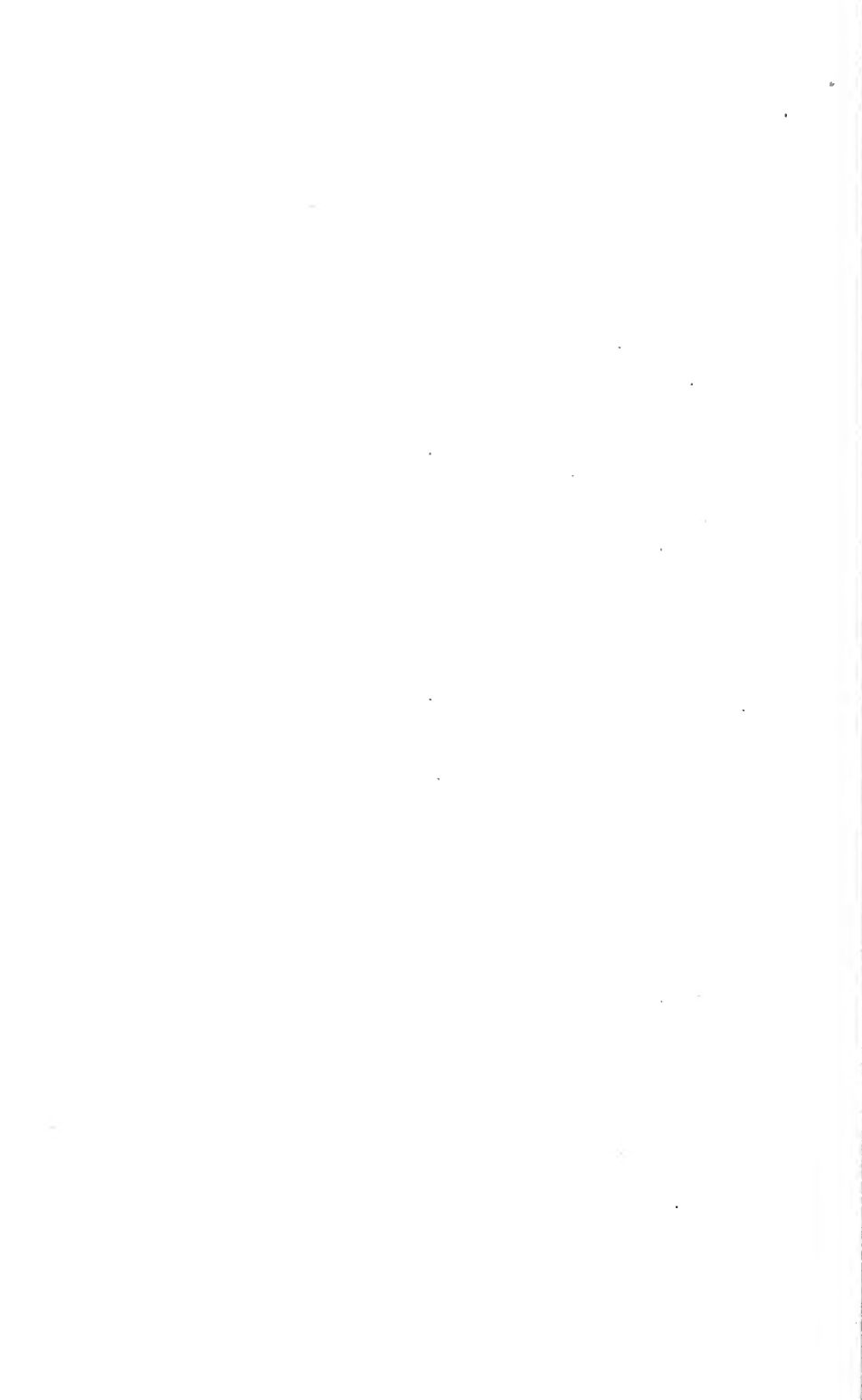


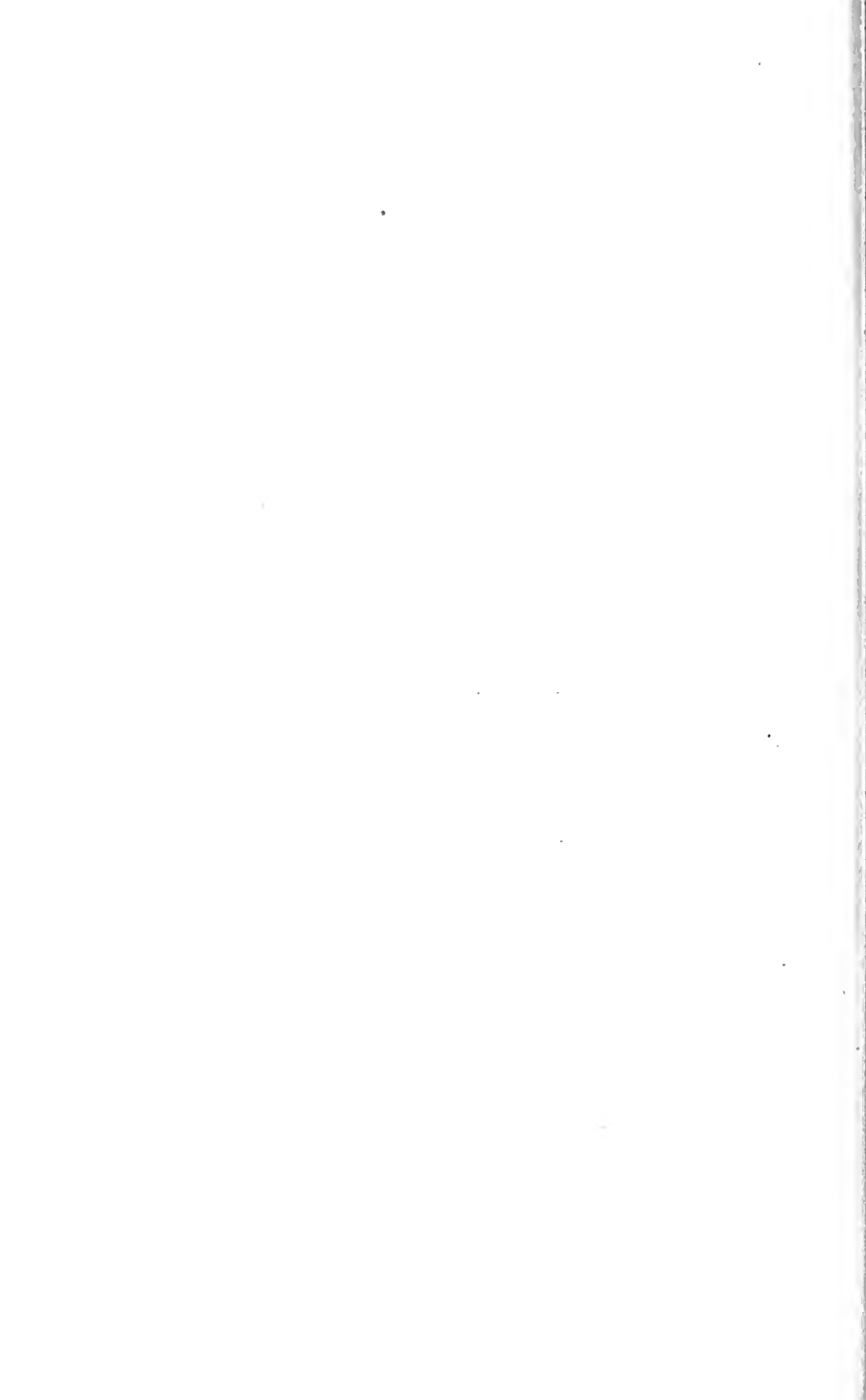


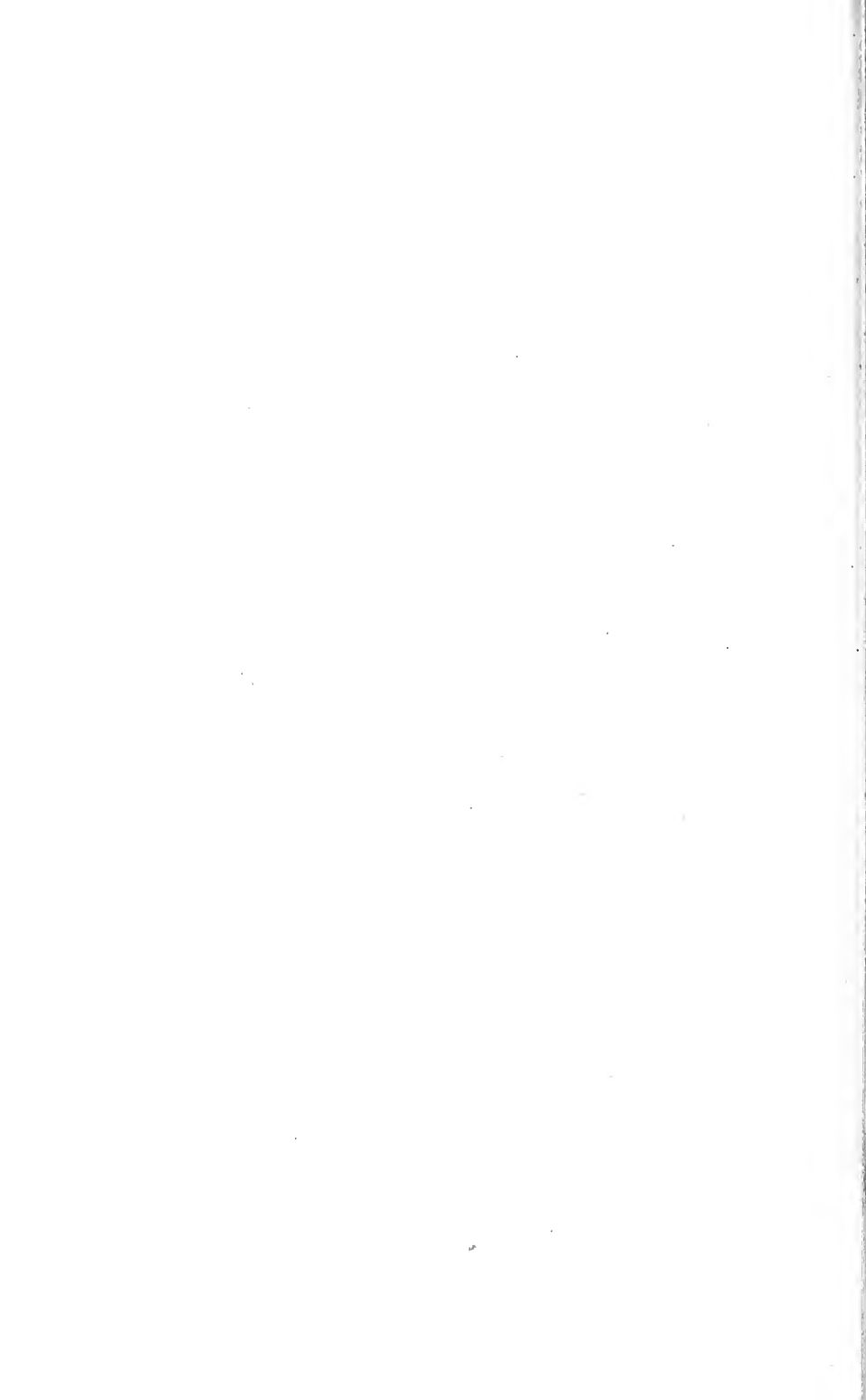


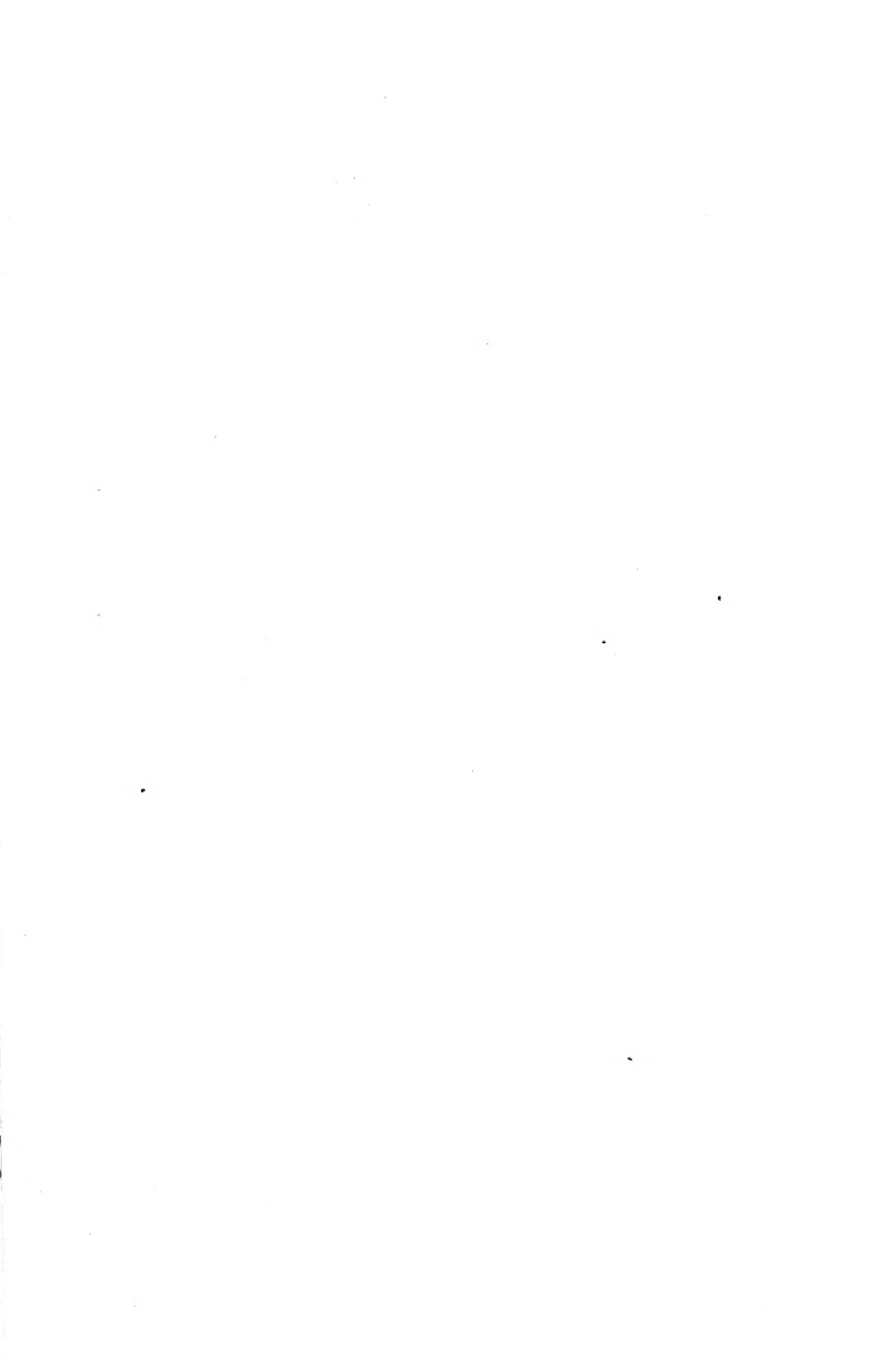


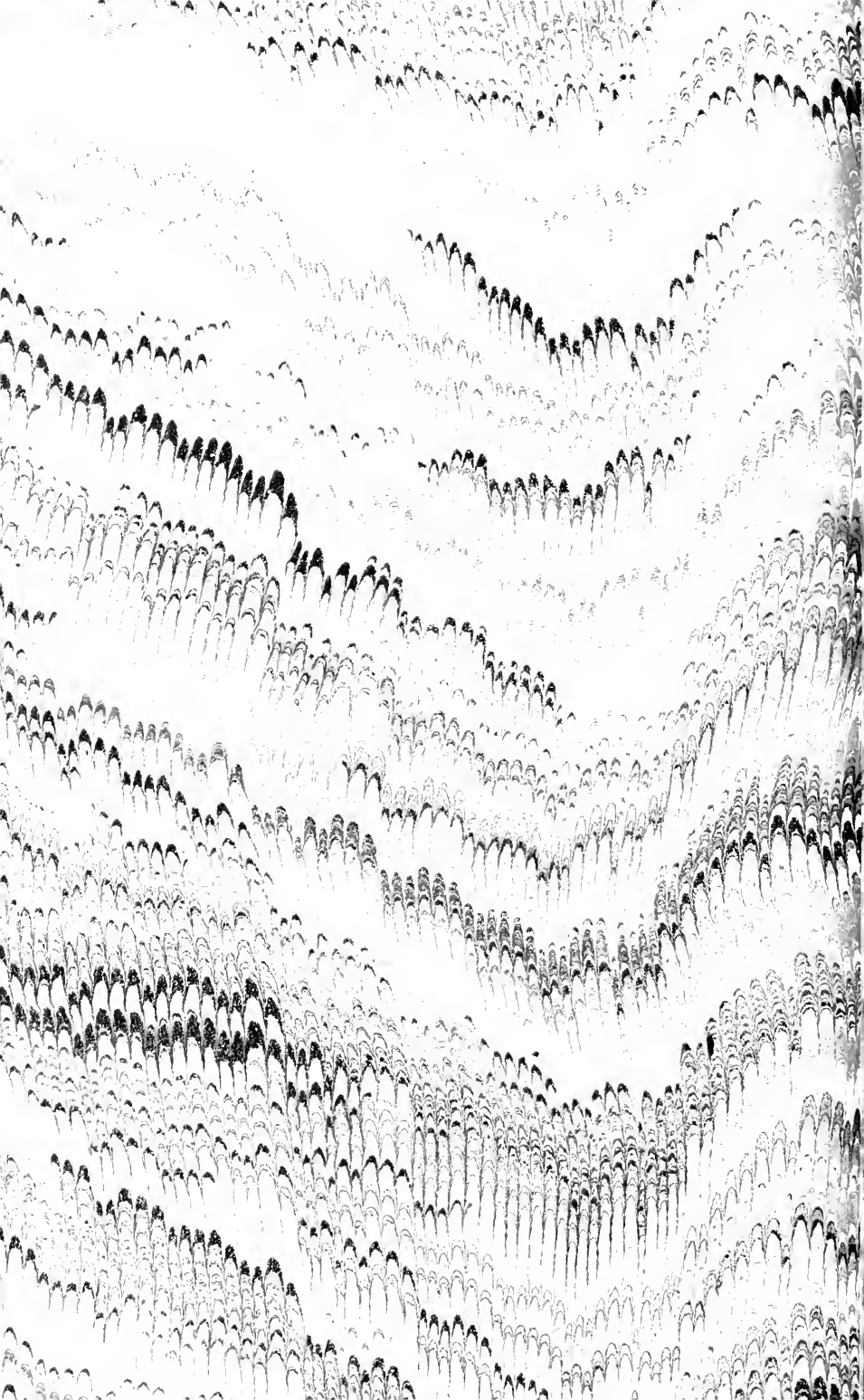


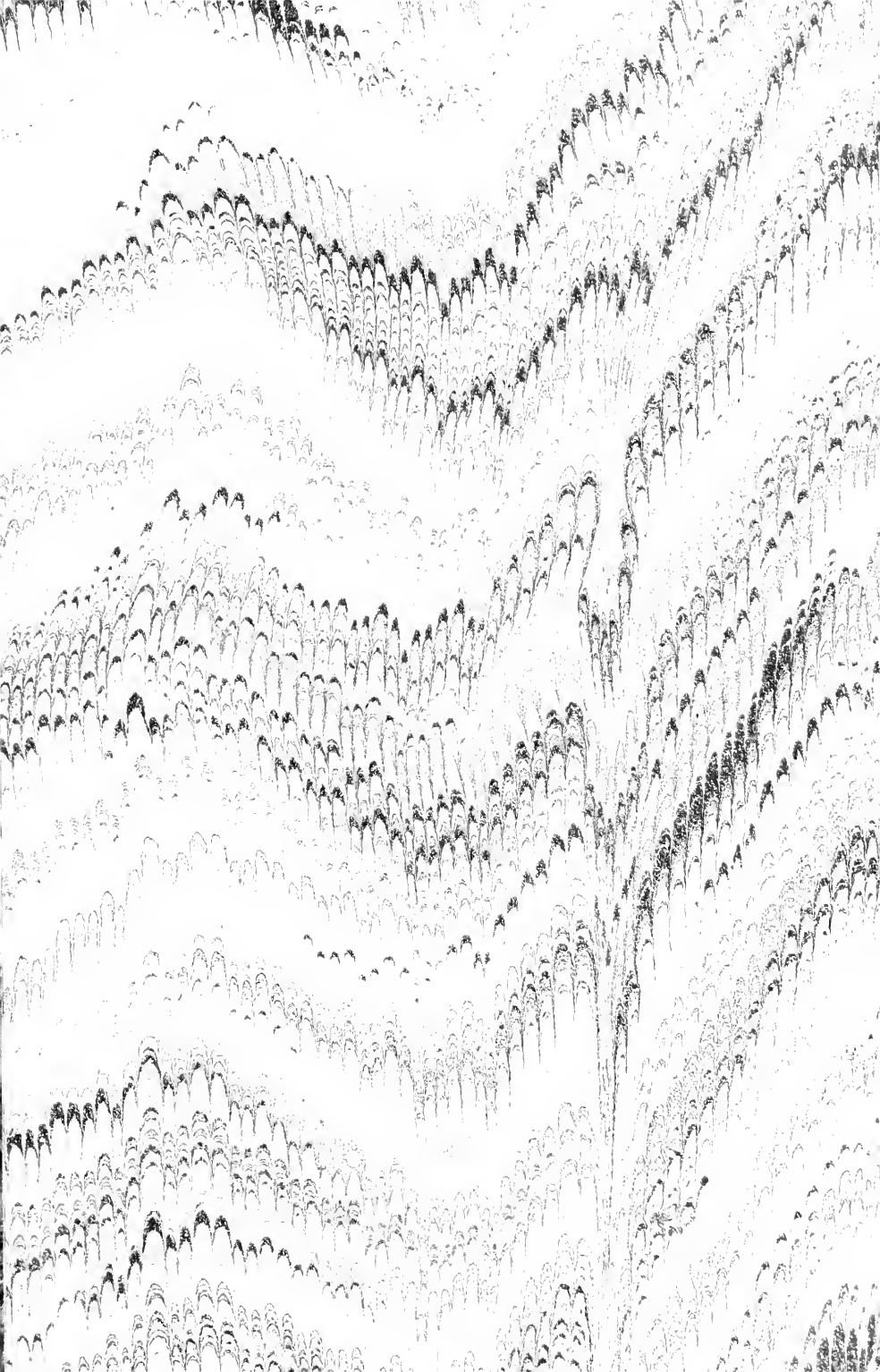












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